

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 32—No. 26

Friday, June 28, 1968

Price 10c



SCENES FROM MAY UPSURGE IN FRANCE. In first picture, above, students prepare to defend themselves from police attack, in early May. Bottom picture shows flaming automobiles used by students and young workers as barricades, on Gay Lussac St. May 10. Police violence that night was protested by giant demonstration of one million workers and students on May 13. Then workers entered struggle with their own demands, taking over factories in history's longest and largest general strike. Middle picture is of meeting of striking Renault workers in plant during occupation.

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Stop de Gaulle's persecution of revolutionists!

JUNE 21—The Gaullist regime has followed up its prohibition of demonstrations and the banning of 11 revolutionary organizations with police raids on their headquarters and the arrest of their leaders (see page 12).

The June 17 issue of the International Herald Tribune reported: "Police said they picked up 17 leaders of extreme leftist groups, mostly Trotskyite student organizations dissolved last week, in raids Friday [June 14] on their homes and offices. As provided under French law, they are being held incommunicado by counterintelligence acting for the State Security Court."

The Paris daily Le Monde wrote June 15: "This Friday morning the police began a series of searches of the headquarters of certain of the revolutionary organizations whose dissolution was declared by the last council of ministers meeting: the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire [JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth], and the Union des Jeunes Communistes (ML) [Union of Communist Youth (Marxist-Leninist)]."

"The police—the judiciary police, the intelligence corps, and the national security police—had the doors opened by locksmiths regularly retained by police officers. They seized documents, which were immediately placed under seal."

Pierre Frank, secretary of the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI), French section of the Fourth International, has been arrested and as of this writing he is still being held incommunicado. Michael Spagnol, a leader of the JCR, and Gerard Verbizier, editor of the JCR magazine, were arrested and released some days later, after the international campaign to protest the repressions was launched.

Joseph Hansen, editor of Intercontinental Press on assignment in France to write articles for The Militant, was arrested along with Helena Hermes, Militant staff photographer, also in France to cover events for this newspaper. Both were grilled, held 27 hours and then deported—for telling the truth to American readers

about the developments in France (see page 5).

While these acts of repression against the revolutionary left are going on, de Gaulle is openly encouraging the fascist scum. He has released from prison the fascist and military conspirators who tried to overturn his regime in 1961.

The International Herald Tribune also reports: "At Orleans at 3 a.m. this morning, an armed commando force of about 150 persons, whom students said were members of a Gaullist 'civic action committee,' invaded the campus . . . eight of the invaders were wearing paratroop camouflage uniforms and were carrying machine guns . . . Several African and Asian students were particularly ill-treated."

The French Communist Party has continued to slander the revolutionary groups and has not uttered a single word of protest against these repressions. So far the American CP has followed suit. And the U.S. daily press has lowered a curtain of silence around the repressions.

We urge all readers to spread the facts about these events and join us in protest. The pattern for action has been set by the united front demonstrations scheduled to occur June 22 throughout the U.S. and Canada.

We also urge the circulation of petitions demanding: (1) Immediate lifting of the ban on all the proscribed political organizations; (2) Immediate release of all political prisoners; (3) Reaffirmation by the French government of the right of free access for all foreign journalists in order that the rest of the world may know the truth about France; (4) An immediate end to the brutal repression of demonstrations and to other attacks on the civil liberties of the French people.

Send these petitions to: French Embassy, 2535 Belmont Road, N.W., Washington, D.C.

The Militant will be publicizing this nationwide campaign in defense of the French workers and students and would appreciate receiving reports of demonstrations and copies of protests.

French protest rally hears Paul Boutelle

By Brian Shannon

PARIS, June 15—A vigorous campaign to fight against the Gaullist repression was launched here yesterday as police began widespread illegal arrests and searches aimed against revolutionary groups.

Upwards of 6,000 young revolutionists crowded the great hall of the Mutualite in the Latin Quarter to hear figures identified with the banned revolutionary parties and youth organizations along with prominent academic and radical individuals.

Among the speakers was Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, who visited France after a speaking tour in England.

Jean-Pierre Vigier, prominent physicist and spokesman for the National Vietnam Committee, chaired the meeting on behalf of the Committee to Initiate and Coordinate a Revolutionary Movement.

The leaflet announcing the meeting pointed out that the repressive action against the revolutionary organizations

(Continued on page 3)



Paul Boutelle
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for Vice President

THE MILITANT

Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD

Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

Published weekly by *The Militant Publishing Ass'n.*, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$3 a year; Canada and Latin America, \$3.50; other foreign, \$4.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada \$9.00; all other countries, \$14.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$12.50; Latin America, \$23.00; Europe, \$27.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$32.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent *The Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

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Friday, June 28, 1968

Was recent French crisis a revolutionary situation?

As the splintered French general strike subsides, a controversy has arisen over the question: Has France experienced a revolutionary situation?

Two quite different judgments are being made about the May-June 1968 events. One school denies or doubts that they had any revolutionary character. These commentators say that the 10 million strikers did not at all aspire to take political power but restricted their aims to immediate economic demands of wages and hours and, at most, a coalition with the left capitalist politicians. The heads of the French Communist Party and the CP-led General Federation of Labor (CGT) took this position from start to finish.

Such a view of the general strike movement was shared in this country by both *The Worker*, organ of the Communist Party USA, and the *New York Times*. Thus Sanche de Gramont wrote from Paris in the June 16 *Times Magazine* that "except for a small minority of young activists who had political goals that went beyond the 40-hour week, there was no revolutionary content in the strikes and factory occupations."

On the other side, the revolutionary socialist vanguard in France and this country maintain that the vast popular upheaval, capped by the greatest general strike in history, signified that a socialist revolution was in the making which, under proper direction, could have gone forward to the winning of power by the workers and the beginning of the construction of socialism.

The reactions of the Gaullist government in the face of this prospect shows that the same opinion was held on the opposing side of the class struggle. De Gaulle's hurried secret confab with his generals in West Germany, the official pronouncements about the imminence of civil war, the pardons given the fascist military conspirators, the decision to make the national elections pivot around the "threat of totalitarian communism," the banning of revolutionary organizations—testify that the guardians of capitalism considered that their continued domination was in danger.

In order to decide which of these opposing viewpoints is correct, it should be asked: What creates a revolutionary situation in modern capitalist society?

At least the following factors must be present. First, the nation must be plunged into a grave social and political crisis in which the master class can no longer rule in the old way. Second, the intermediate social layers lose confidence in the ability of the ruling powers and look for a radical way out of their situation. Third, the direct action of the working masses challenges the foundations of the social and political structure.

All three of these conditions were evident during the May-June upsurge in France. On its 10th anniversary, de Gaulle's authoritarian regime was manifestly bankrupt and ripe for replacement. By word and deed one segment of the population after another openly expressed their desire to be rid of it. At the same time the government was taken off guard and thrown off balance by the colossal and unexpected mass offensive and for many days did not know how to cope with it.

As the regime floundered, the protests by farmers and supporting actions by many kinds of professionals showed that the overwhelming majority of the people was siding with the 10 million strikers and the rebellious university and high school youth, against the Gaullist regime.

The conduct of the workers was decisive in determining the highly revolutionary character of the struggle. They conducted the longest and the largest general strike in history. Not a wheel turned in the whole country. They occupied the factories; (Continued on page 9)



MILITANT SPIRIT. On May 29 march of 800,000 called by CGT, rank and file expressed desire for complete change. This sign reads: "Continue the strike! Capitalism is dead."

GIs "very friendly"

Baltimore, Md.

In Baltimore, during the ghetto uprisings, there were thousands of troops bivouacked at a nearby park. Two antiwar kids and I went over with 300 brochures of Fred Halstead's "Letter to GIs." The reception was very friendly. These guys were from Fort Bragg, N. C. They were mostly southern whites who, when I pointed out that Fred and Paul were socialists and black power advocates only commented, "They're on our side." It was an almost unbelievable response. Very friendly. One guy asked for a sticker for his helmet and another asked how to get to Canada.

Only real choice

Newark, N.J.

I am presently a junior at Newark College of Engineering and I would like to attempt the formation of a socialist party at my school. I would appreciate all the information and help which you can provide me with.

I have been interested in the Socialist Workers Party for quite some time, but have been too lazy to take an active role. I sincerely feel that the Socialist Workers Party is the only party offering the people a true choice, something which this country has been lacking for a long time.

I am interested in doing all that I can for the Party as a whole. I will be available for summer petitioning.

Identifies

New York, N.Y.

Even though I am pessimistic about the successes of the Socialist Workers Party, I would rather work with a group that I can somewhat identify with.

Wants reasons to oppose McCarthy

Schenectady, N.Y.

I wish to know what "McCarthy Truth Kits" are.

Although I work for McCarthy locally, I support the campaign of Halstead and Boutelle and understand to an extent that McCarthy is splitting the antiwar movement; but what does a "McCarthy Truth Kit" contain?

I suppose you should send me one to explore.

I'm not satisfied with McCarthy but yet I work, like many other radicals, for him temporarily.

If you can give me good enough reasons to split McCarthy's efforts, please do so.

The "McCarthy Truth Kit" is a detailed analysis of Senator McCarthy's record. It can be obtained for 25 cents per copy from: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Symptoms or system

San Antonio, Tex.

I wish to congratulate you on the fine work that you are doing. I hope that more voters will begin

Malcolm X The Man and His Ideas

by

George Breitman

25 cents

MERIT PUBLISHERS
873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

GIs: "Socialists on our side."

to realize that the twin parties offer no real alternatives but only change the symptoms and not the system.

Honest opposition

New York, N.Y.

Although we disagree with some of the reasoning on which your platform for 1968 is based, and although we cannot support all the aims of your campaign, we are sufficiently encouraged by your honest and useful opposition to the monotonous and ineffectual aims of the major political parties that we would like to contribute to your campaign fund. A check for \$10 is enclosed.

McCarthy prattles, Halstead leads

La Grande, Ore.

I was quite happy to receive your letter of April 29. At that time, I was not sure that I wanted to become a socialist, as I felt it was sort of a dead issue. Through your brochures and through information given by the Socialist Labor Party (I received nothing from the Thomasites—Socialist Party), I have come to the conclusion that the Socialist Workers seems to be the only party in which I wish to become involved.

This country seems to be headed straight for hell, and, as a college student and a concerned person, I am very worried. Your program, when compared to that of Socialist Labor, is a program of which I am very proud. I disagree, and it is only right that I say this, with some of the "black power" advocates, because the United States needs the help of these people also.

One cannot, it seems, influence the system by "dropping out" like the hippies. I must admit that these individuals do influence the society, but only indirectly through reaction. Neither can the Socialist Laborites influence or hope to change the system through their meetings in back rooms and through their study groups. This was so in Russia and it is true today. One must have a leader, and I believe that the Socialist Workers have that leader in the person of Fred Halstead.

Meet Socialists in Your Area

(If you are interested in the ideas of socialism, you can meet socialists in your city at the following addresses.)

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 2519A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley 94704. (415) 849-1032.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A. 90033. (213) AN 9-4953.

San Diego: San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 2221, San Diego 92112.

San Francisco: Militant Labor Forum and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., S.F. 94114. (415) 552-1266.

Santa Rosa: Young Socialist Alliance, Stefan Bosworth, 808 Spencer.

DELAWARE: Lloyd Summers, Box 559, Dover, Del. (302) 674-9842.

GEORGIA: YSA, P.O. Box 6262, Atlanta, Ga. 30308. (404) 872-1612.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, Bill Moffet, 406 S. Washington.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago 60606. (312) 939-5044.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, Michael Hanagan, 56 Townsend. (217) 332-4285.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Russel Block, 207 East 2nd St., Bloomington 47401. 339-4640.

Indianapolis: Halstead-Boutelle Campaign, P.O. Box 654, Indianapolis, Indiana, 46206.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, Toby Rice, 4300 Springdale Ave.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. (617) 876-5930.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

Letters to Socialist Campaign

In place of the usual "Letters from our readers" column, this week we are printing a selection of letters recently received by the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee.

The Socialist Workers Party is running Fred Halstead for President and Paul Boutelle for Vice President, in addition to many state and local candidates.

I am a student at Eastern Oregon College. I am very dissatisfied with the United States, and have thought of going to Canada because of the greater possibility of changing developments there. I have decided to stay here for some time longer, however, because things seem to be looking up.

A few weeks ago, Senator McCarthy, a man I supported, came to La Grande to speak. I thought he would say something. He did not. It seems that the only effective politician we have in Oregon is Wayne Morse, a personal hero of mine, because he dares to stand out.

I attempted to register socialist in this state. There is no possibility of doing this and there is no primary for the Socialist Workers Party. I would like to see Mr. Halstead come to EOC in La Grande to expound his views. This is only right, as Halstead's name is on the general election ballot.

Now, I know one has to get out and campaign. However, I, as a college student and as a married man with no job, have very little money. However, I want to "get out the word." What do you suggest? Please send me what you have, and I will forward any money that I get. I am especially interested in handing out copies of the SWP platform to interested students and townspeople.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. (612) FE 2-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone EV 9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark 07101.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, Carol French, 272 Lark St., Albany 12210.

New York City: Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), N.Y. 10003. (212) 982-6051.

OHIO: Cleveland: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 44106. (216) 791-1669.

Kent: YSA, Roy S. Inglee, 123 Water St. N., Kent 44240. 673-7032.

Yellow Springs: Antioch YSA, Rick Wadsworth, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs 45387. (513) 767-7862.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila. 19130. (215) CE 6-6998.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, James E. Gardner, 607 W. 31-1/2 St. (512) 454-6143.

Houston: YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2236.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-3537.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 3 Thomas Circle, N.W., 2nd floor, Washington, D.C., 20005. (202) 332-4635.

WASHINGTON: Cheney: YSA, Ann Montague, 5223 Dryden Hall, Cheney 99004.

Seattle: SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle 98105 (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 202 Marion St. (608) 256-0857.



IN PARIS. Paul Boutellespeaking to meeting of 6,000 in Mutualite hall June 14.

Boutelle tours England; defends 'black power'

By Ernest Tate

LONDON—On June 9, Paul Boutelle, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President of the United States, concluded a two-week speaking tour of Britain with a rally in London's Hyde Park, at the famous Speakers Corner. He had been invited to speak on the platform of Roy Sawh, chairman of the Universal Colored Peoples' Association.

Boutelle was in Britain the last week in May and the first week in June as part of his campaign to take news of the black struggle in America beyond the borders of the U.S. and to obtain information from black people in Britain about their conditions.

The large meeting in Hyde Park of more than 1,000, mainly black people, heard Boutelle describe the conditions faced by the black population in the U.S. and outline a history of the liberation struggle and the role black nationalism played in that struggle.

To loud applause, he told the crowd: "You've got the same problems we've got. It's the same rotten system. We've got the same enemy. British imperialism is the front man for American imperialism, the junior partner. It's not as strong as it once was. Once they used to say that the sun always shone on some part of the empire—now the sun has difficulty finding it!"

Boutelle drew shouts of approval from the audience when he solidarized himself with British black nationalist Michael X, one of the first people arrested under the "race relations" act passed by the Labor government.

The audience, which included most of the leaders of the black militants in London, were especially interested to hear Boutelle's comments on the black power movement in the United States.

"A large majority of black people in America still vote for the Democratic party," he said. "To counter this, the SWP advocate the formation of an independent black political party—this proposal is a central issue in our campaign." Pictures of Boutelle speaking in Hyde Park appeared on the national BBC-TV news.

Boutelle's visit to Britain came at a time when there is a great receptivity to black power ideas in the black community as a result of the recent upsurge of antiblack racism in Britain. Paul Boutelle's speaking tour of Britain took him to the main industrial centers outside London, such as Birmingham, Sheffield and Nottingham, where large immigrant communities live. He had long discussions with the community leaders in these areas. He also spoke at over 10 colleges and universities where he aroused considerable interest among many colonial students resident in Britain.

In Glasgow, June 2, he addressed a meeting of over 90 people at the main trade-

union center, sponsored by the Marxist monthly, International. At a meeting in Edinburgh University the following day his barbs against the British Queen came under editorial attack in the Scottish Daily Express. He had referred in passing to the Queen as being a "parasite who should be put to work washing floors."

At Newcastle University June 4 a quickly organized meeting by the Socialist Society received good support—130 people in the middle of exams—with coverage on TV and in the local radio and press.

While speaking at a teach-in on student power at Sheffield, June 5, Boutelle received a taste of the sectarianism which infects elements of the British left when it comes to such questions as colonialism. He was attacked by Nick Spence of the Socialist Labor League who accused Boutelle of "confusing the black working class, playing into the hands of the black capitalists" and encouraging apartheid. Spence insisted that the only progressive course for black workers was a unity with the white working class.

Boutelle replied that the idea that black people should cease to organize their independent struggle until such time as the white working class joined them was reactionary. He added that when he arrived in Britain he had challenged the Socialist Labor League to a debate on the topic of black power, but they had not replied to the challenge.

While in Sheffield, the vice-presidential candidate met with many representatives of the West Indian community.

Boutelle's tour of Britain began with a packed meeting in Caxton Hall, London, organized by the International Marxist Group, which supports the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The meeting was chaired by Tariq Ali, one of the leaders of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.

News of Boutelle's visit to Britain spread rapidly throughout the black community and the rally in Hyde Park was preceded by a series of quickly organized meetings in London's immigrant ghettos. A meeting in Islington, sponsored by the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination, was chaired by Oscar Abrams, a leading black militant in the area.

On Saturday, June 8, Boutelle was the featured speaker at a special meeting in central London to commemorate the ideas of Marcus Garvey, organized by several black power groups under the title of Black United Action Front.

Among those present were Obi B. Egbuna, a leader of the Universal Colored Peoples' Association and one of the most articulate spokesmen for black power in Britain. Also on the platform were Franie Dymond of the Racial Adjustment Society, and B.S. Ghose of the UCPA.

Belgian students support French

By Pascal Lubra

BRUSSELS—On Monday, May 13, students at the University of Brussels, inspired by the struggle at the Sorbonne, launched a movement to occupy the university's administrative buildings. The occupation is still going on today.

Red and black flags fluttering over the University of Brussels symbolize the direct influence of the French revolutionary upsurge. But it is not only the university circles of Brussels which have felt the impact of France. Other Belgian institutions of higher learning, social service schools and fine arts schools, have also been occupied.

May 21, the Socialist Young Guard, the Socialist Students and the Union of the Socialist Left organized a solidarity meeting with French revolutionists. Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the leader of the French student May 22 movement, and Daniel Bensaid, a leader of the French Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), were scheduled to speak.

But the Ministry of Justice took fright and officially denied the two speakers access to the country. Cohn-Bendit was unable to be present (since he also had other obligations), but the rally organizers were able to get Bensaid into the country. He explained the revolutionary perspectives in

France to an enthusiastic crowd of about 1,000.

On June 13, the teachers union of the general central trade union of public services organized a solidarity meeting in the large "Salle de la Madeleine" in Brussels. There, Bernard Hertzberg, leader of the French University Teachers Union, told the audience of 2,000 the importance of the movement that had started in Nanterre and grown to challenge de Gaulle's regime.

The executive committee of the Belgian teachers union adopted a motion greeting "the entry en masse of the schools and universities of France on the side of the workers in the struggle for socialism and against the Gaullist dictatorship, whose nature had been spelled out in its attempts to suppress freedom of association by outlawing five youth political organizations."

On June 15 a third solidarity meeting was planned at the University of Brussels to hear a talk by Jean P. Vigier, the intellectual leader recently expelled from the French Communist Party, who was going to introduce a debate on "the struggles of revolutionists, students and workers of France." But Vigier was being sought by the French police and he was unable to be present.

... Paris meeting

(Continued from page 1)

was the logical extension of de Gaulle's political intimidation of the French masses, initiated in his speech of May 30. It accuses the government of attempting to shift the blame for its attack on the workers and students in Flins, Sochaux and Paris—including the police murders of two workers and a student—onto the revolutionary organizations. It calls for using the election period for an educational campaign on the events of May.

Boutelle pointed out that his own French last name indicated he was a descendant of African victims of French colonialism, and therefore he had a certain personal interest in common with other victims of French capitalism.

"The French students and workers have shown the way," Boutelle said, "and I hope that in the near future we in the United States will do likewise and carry the fight to the end.

"I am sure that we will study the history of the French revolutionary upsurge—that your Committees of Action will be examined by black people fighting for control of the black community, by students fighting against imperialist control of educational institutions, by workers fighting for control of the factories—by all people fighting against this rotten, decadent capitalist system. (Applause)

"Two, three, many Vietnams—two, three, many Detroits—and now two, three, many Parises. (Loud applause) Until victory is ours, full solidarity with the jailed and maimed victims of capitalism. Vive a new France, death to the old. (Loud sustained applause) Student power, workers' power, black power, human power. Victory against capitalist racism and exploitation in all its forms. Let this generation make the world socialist revolution by any means

necessary. (Loud applause.)

"I go back to America to help make an American revolution." (Enthusiastic applause, followed by rhythmic clapping indicating high approval.)

Chairman Vigier, in his opening remarks, said the French parliament was "now useless" and added that "the power must be returned to the masses of workers, to the producers, and not to the exploiters."

Jacques Sauvageot, vice president of the National Union of French Students, called for "a massive, united response to the repression."

Marc Heurgon, national political committee member of the Unified Socialist Party, received the single most enthusiastic outburst from the audience when he criticized the French Communist Party and its paper, l'Humanite, "which has not printed one word of protest against the dissolution of the revolutionary groups. It is a publication without honor."

An anonymous militant of the Workers Voice organization asserted that revolutionary activity would continue "under other names, under other forms."

Because of the police repression, Alain Krivine of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth), who had been scheduled to appear, was unable to speak. For the JCR, Pierre Roussel called for "a regroupment of the revolutionary organizations, which will be a first step toward the realization of the revolutionary vanguard so desperately needed during the events of May."

This meeting at the Mutualite initiated a worldwide campaign against the French government's repression of workers and students, and for solidarity with France's new revolutionary leadership.

----- clip and mail -----

Special to New Readers

If you would like to get better acquainted with THE MILITANT, you may obtain a special, introductory four-month subscription for \$1. (If you're already sold on the paper, you can help out by sending a regular one-year subscription for \$3.)

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- ☐ Enclosed is \$3 for a 1 year regular subscription.

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SMC exclusionists run from antiwar struggle

By Harry Ring and Lew Jones

At the very moment of an accelerated development of radicalism here and internationally, we see the emergence of a rightward, reformist trend within the U.S. antiwar movement.

The most blatant expression of this trend so far has been in the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. There a so-called independent caucus is being used by the Communist Party-Du Bois Clubs and pacifists to impose upon the organization a right-wing policy of retreating from mass confrontation with the government on the war issue.

To carry through this policy of retreat, they are trying to exclude revolutionary socialists from leadership of the movement, as expressed in the firing from the SMC staff of Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton, both members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

For the CP forces, and many of the pacifists, the pressure to move toward less militant positions has been intensified with the Paris negotiations and the presidential elections.

Last week we reported an analysis paper published by the officers and staff of the War Resisters League, offering the view that the Johnson administration is "phasing out" the Vietnam war, as evidenced by the Paris parley.

The CP too is trying to paint up the U.S. role in Paris. An editorial in the June 18 issue of *The Worker* advises that popular pressure moved Johnson "to order the lessening, even if ambiguously, of the area of targets of the bombing of North Vietnam, and to proceed, even if half-heartedly, to the Paris talks with Hanoi."

Distortion of Reality

This deliberately twists the real meaning of Johnson's action. The Worker knows, or should know, that while LBJ's "restrictions" of the bombings and opening of "negotiations" are indeed in response to public pressure, they are not in any sense whatever *concessions* to that pressure—half-hearted or otherwise.

The fact is the very contrary. Johnson sent emissaries to Paris not as a concession to the pressure of the antiwar forces, but as a means of deceiving, disarming and diverting those forces.

It is, as I.F. Stone so well explained in his June 10 *Weekly*, a maneuver calculated to buy time to carry through the administration's continuing determination to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

That's why, at the very time it talks "peace" in Paris, it continues to escalate its aggression in Vietnam. The most striking evidence of this is the stark fact that more GIs have died in Vietnam since the talks opened than in any comparable previous period. And the number of bombings has increased apace.

To credit Lyndon Johnson with even "half-hearted" moves toward peace, as *The Worker* does, serves only to help cloak his real, sinister game.

The CP does so because it happens to coincide with its own particular game—that of trying to convince SMC activists that the effective way to fight war is not in the streets in mass actions but through allegedly "relevant" forms of reformist electoral action—"inside and outside" the Democratic Party.

If the Vietnamese feel that regardless of Washington's intent they can derive some gain from the Paris talks, they have, of course, every right to do so. But it is a terrible disservice to the Vietnamese for any American to give any credence whatsoever to the U.S. intentions in the negotiations.

The Way to Help

The only meaningful help the U.S. movement can give the Vietnamese people in this situation is to mount the most intense kind of pressure on Washington for the immediate, unconditional, "unnegotiable" withdrawal of its troops from Vietnam!

At this point, above all, to retreat from the withdrawal demand, in the slightest degree, is the most terrible disservice to the cause of peace and to the Vietnamese revolution.

Yet there are increasing signs within the movement of such a retreat from the withdrawal position. The WRL document that expounds the war-is-ending thesis states that pacifists "welcome negotiations" and must emphasize the demand that the U.S. "should be negotiating its own withdrawal."

The WRL formula is echoed by pacifist Norma Becker, coordinator of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. In a proposed program of activity for the committee, she suggests legislative lobbying around the demand for a Congressional resolution for a bombing cessation and for "negotiation of U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam."

Regardless of intent, this formulation waters down the withdrawal demand and represents a concession to those who, emboldened by the Paris talks, are advancing again their negotiations position.

The retreat from a direct confrontation with the government on the war issue is camouflaged by the CP and pacifists with the diversionary argument that the antiwar movement must now become a coalition waging a two-front fight—against war and against racism.

The net result of such a proposition is that a militant antiwar movement would be dissolved into a reformist, liberalistic "educational" society. Instead of mass confrontation with the government that perpetuates the system of war and racism, antiwar activists would be diverted into

organized the massive national antiwar protests of April 1967 and October 1968.

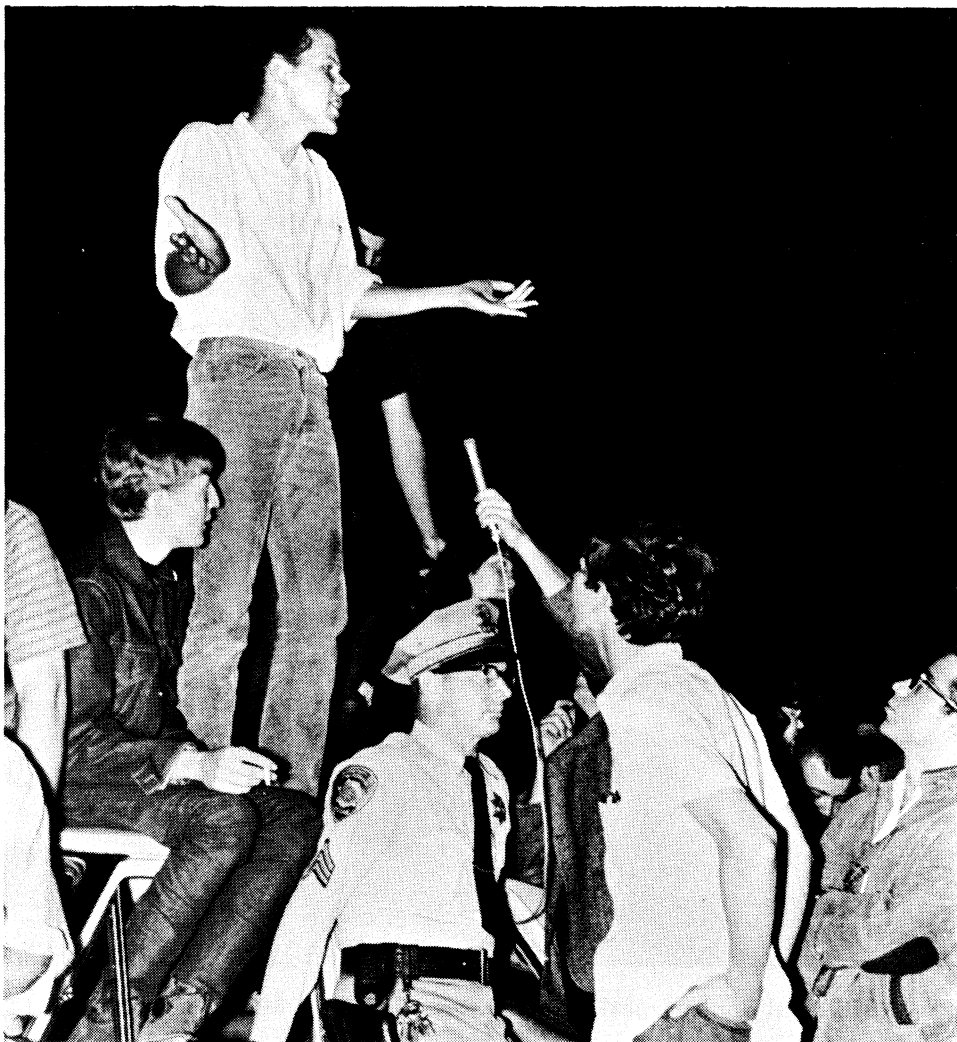
A petition directed to the SMC Working Committee demanding it end its exclusionary policy and call a national conference of the organization, as mandated by the last conference, was signed by many student and community antiwar activists in the Chicago area.

Among the signers of the petition are Maxwell Primack, co-chairman of the Chicago Peace Council, and Sylvia Kushner, secretary of the council.

Among 16 signers of a similar petition from Minneapolis are Paul Gruchow, editor of the *University of Minnesota Daily*, three members of *The Resistance* and an SDSer.

From San Francisco, Thomas Hanna, an ex-GI, wrote: "From my experience with the Vietnam war while inside the military service, I came to the antiwar movement (during the buildup of the 'April 15' demonstration) with the conviction that a constant stream of increasing agitation through building mass demonstrations is the only way to put enough pressure on the warmakers . . .

"For anyone or any grouping in the SMC at this point to try to push an exclusion policy onto the SMC will be to find themselves in a very isolated position. It also shows a maneuver to change the direct course of mass demonstrations to something else that will take the pressure off the warmakers."



FOR FREE SPEECH. Syd Stapleton speaking from top of police car "captured" by thousands of students when cops invaded University of California campus at Berkeley during 1964 Free Speech Movement. Stapleton was member of Steering Committee of Free Speech Movement.

social-worker type activity explaining to white workers why it's wrong to be prejudiced.

A good indication of how SMC would be emasculated by such a policy is found in a series of program papers to be presented to the coming continuations committee meeting of SMC by the right-wing exclusionists on the Working Committee.

Away from Mass Action

The program on white racism proposes a two-pronged approach. One would be distributing leaflets to National Guardsmen. We don't comprehend what it means, but the proposal states: "An excellent, well-written, nice-looking leaflet has to be printed up, trying to make clear to Guardsmen on hypocrisy, etc. of their stand (in so many words, of course)."

The other prong would be "the institution of 'white civilizing' teams, trying to get as many straight-looking kids as possible. Work would consist of canvassing neighborhoods, literature tables, assisted by GOOD (!) literature." (Emphasis in original.)

But the flight from militancy comes through most clearly in the proposed program of "antiwar activity." Educational leafletting is, of course, a necessary, positive activity, if it relates to and focuses on an action that people can join in. But the exclusionists' program asserts that any prospects for mass demonstrations against the war are ruled out as long as the Paris talks continue.

The leafletting program, and other similar educational activity, is proposed on the basis that the "peace" talks will most likely be accompanied by a "slow" escalation of the war and that "this sort of escalation on the government's part cannot be used to build a national Mass Mobilization aimed at one spot."

Organization of demonstrations, it must be conceded, is not totally excluded from the exclusionists' plans. Along with the literature distribution program, they solemnly state, there should be a "demonstration contingency plan."

Such a "demonstration contingency" would be put into effect when the escalation of the war is deemed to have reached a "suitable" point.

Just what would the alert point be? The program explains:

"It was generally agreed at the last Working Committee meeting that a suitable escalation would be the government committing 20,000 troops to Vietnam or a similar calling up of the National Guard."

If only 19,000 troops are sent, that, presumably, would not be cause for action.

What It Means

This may sound like nothing more than pure gibberish. But the gibberish expresses a shameful buckling to the pressure to stop demonstrating against the war and to find any excuse, or "contingency plan," for doing so, no matter how stupid it may be.

We don't think, though, that this double-talking nonsense will succeed in its purpose. Opposition to the war remains deep and widespread. And it will mount apace of

the continuing casualties.

Furthermore, the process of political radicalization sparked by the Vietnamese revolutionary struggle is going to continue to deepen, here and internationally. Young people will continue to seek meaningful forms of militant mass action against the imperialist aggression in Vietnam and in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution. Rome, Berlin, Belgrade and Paris make it very clear there are going to be more young people in the streets in the days ahead, not less!

And those young Americans coming to revolutionary consciousness as a result of all this, we can confidently predict, will reject and repudiate those who would demobilize the antiwar movement by excluding revolutionaries from the SMC and trying to fasten onto that movement a so-called educational program that is nothing less than a cowardly cop-out from the struggle.

Such reformist policies will be recognized as a terrible betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution and, by that token, a betrayal of every other progressive cause—including the black liberation struggle in the United States.

SNCC parley in Atlanta reorganizes

At the annual SNCC staff meeting held in Atlanta, Ga., June 11-15, a decision was made to restructure the organization. Seven deputy chairmen were elected, with more scheduled to be elected later. Phil Hutchings of Newark was elected program secretary.

Rap Brown, who served as chairman of SNCC from May 1967 to this June, will continue to be active in the organization.

A release sent out by the SNCC office in Atlanta stated that the reorganization was directed toward better dealing with the repression and persecution of black people and militant black leaders, and "to better continue our struggle against racism, capitalism and imperialism."

Those already elected as deputy chairmen were George Ware of Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.; John Wilson of New York City; Donald Stone of Atlanta, Ga.; James Forman of New York City; Bob Smith of Atlanta; Brother Crook of Los Angeles; and the former executive secretary of SNCC, Stanley Wise.

Among the issues discussed at the staff meeting were (1) creation of a "national mass political party," (2) antiwar, anti-draft activity, (3) formation of liberation schools, (4) formation of Southern student unions, and (5) establishing of "survival refugee stations" to deal with repressions in the black community during the summer.

Protests against exclusion in SMC continue mounting

NEW YORK, June 20—The Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, the Ohio Peace Action Council and two principal officers of the Chicago Peace Council are among those who have protested the exclusionist firing of Young Socialists Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton from the staff of the Student Mobilization Committee.

In a resolution directed to the Student Mobilization Committee, the Student Senate of the University of California at Berkeley reaffirmed its support for the need for a nonexclusionist, single-issue coalition dedicated to mobilizing mass actions against the Vietnam war.

Kipp Dawson said today that these are among the most recent of the many protests that have been made against the efforts to divert the SMC from its established militant, nonexclusionary policies.

A letter to SMC from Robert Bonthius, chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, said they wanted to "enter our concern that the National Student Mobilization Committee operate on the principle of non-exclusion, and our opinion that this principle would be best served by determining SMC staff procedures at a full conference."

The same viewpoint was expressed by the Ohio Peace Action Council. Leaders of these two bodies played a key role in initiating the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which

MILITANT REPORTER, PHOTOGRAPHER HELD 27 HOURS

Introduction to French political cops

Joseph Hansen, editor of *Intercontinental Press*, went to Paris some weeks ago with a team of reporters and photographers to cover the French events for *The Militant* and *Intercontinental Press*. Mary-Alice Waters, also on assignment as a reporter for *The Militant*, and photographers Helena Hermes and Brian Shannon made up the rest of the team.

Hansen had been using the apartment of a friend as a place to work. The photographers did their darkroom work there, also. On June 14, when Hansen arrived at the apartment at 9 a.m. to begin writing, a group of plainclothesmen pushed their way in as he unlocked the door.

"They went through books, pamphlets; flipped through the newspapers; broke into drawers; and, of course, went through my bulging briefcase and all the material laid out on the table," Hansen says.

"Handwritten material seemed to get top priority with these political experts. A short translation of a press release of the Internationalist Communist Party (French section of the Fourth International) which I had written out in my hotel room was a special treasure. Later in the day the police commissioner kept it in front of him on his desk, picking it up occasionally to admire it like a prime exhibit in a pawnshop holdup."

At 10 a.m., Helena Hermes arrived. "The political police greeted her at the door with the pleasure they customarily display in such situations," Hansen relates. "Especially intriguing to them was the box of photographic chemicals she had brought along, not to mention the dozen strips of film already completed."

Both Hansen and Hermes were then taken to the Ministry of the Interior.

By Joseph Hansen

JUNE 16—Yesterday I received a carbon copy of a letter from the Minister of the Interior, a member of de Gaulle's cabinet, to the Director of Territorial Surveillance, ordering him to see to it that I was deported forthwith from France.

I was given the copy of the letter under somewhat unusual circumstances—in the headquarters of the French government's secret political police—after having been held in custody for some 27 hours, out of which I was grilled for about 12 hours.

The reason given for deporting me was that my "presence" on French territory was of such "nature" as to be inimical to the public order. The grounds for coming to this conclusion were not stated in the Minister's letter.

However, the main pieces of evidence considered by the police, as I can bear witness, were two issues of *The Militant* which the police found in my briefcase. One of these issues carried an announcement on the front page reporting that a group of Militant correspondents had gone to France to cover the revolutionary events there. The other issue carried an article I had written under a Paris dateline.

The Highest Standards

I was honored by having as my chief inquisitor a Police Commissioner working directly under the Minister himself. Should the Commissioner ever wish to have a testimonial from me, I can state that he measured up to the highest standards of his profession.

For instance, he pointed to the announcement on the front page of *The Militant* as overwhelming proof that I was the "organizer" of a group sent into France from the USA for subversive purposes. When I asked him to show me, he put his finger on the word "organizations" in the sentence itemizing some of the things we intended to report on. The translating department of de Gaulle's political police evidently read this word as "organisateur" (organizer), and put it, conveniently, in the singular instead of the plural, thus correcting what was obviously a typographical error in the original.

Again, this keen-witted Arsene Lupin nailed me with a letter from my wife, Reba. In the first paragraph of the letter, she told me about the heavy work in getting out "the issue" (a 32-page issue of *Intercontinental Press* dealing almost wholly with the French events). This proved, since it was discussing "issues," that the letter was completely political. Now what about the rest?

The author of the missive, the mysterious Reba, mentioned that the begonias were doing good and that, of all things,



Joseph Hansen

the cyclamen was putting out another bud despite the heat. This, said Monsieur Lupin, could be nothing but a secret code.

It was not the thing to do in this inner sanctum, I am sure, but I laughed. "There are some people," I said, "who like to grow flowers. Of all countries this should be understood in France."

The translator, at this point a woman, intervened to assure the Commissioner that the letter really was from my wife and it was quite understandable why she would like to grow flowers. The Commissioner came back rather hotly. "I'm asking the questions here, not you. Let him reply to what I ask." Most of the other cops in the room had smiles on their faces as if they were enjoying what had happened to their superior, and he soon dropped that line of inquiry into the "plot."

Questioned Separately

Militant photographer Helena Hermes had also been arrested and was being grilled. We were, of course, kept separated in the inner sanctum of the Ministry of the Interior, and neither of us had any way of knowing what was happening to the other. In each case, however, our inquisitors sought to make out that we were part of an international conspiracy aimed at overthrowing "liberty" in France and establishing a "totalitarian Communist state."

My passport showed that I had been in Cuba in the summer of 1967. This became the object of repeated questioning throughout the interrogation, the Commissioner apparently thinking that by temporarily dropping the subject and then returning to it suddenly, he might catch me in a contradiction.

He wanted to know in particular what figures in the Cuban government had seen me. That I had not received any different treatment at the OLAS conference (which I covered for *The Militant*) from that accorded any of the other 500 reporters and photographers was a very suspicious alibi in his opinion. And I must agree that there was a certain logic to his viewpoint. How otherwise explain the revolutionary explosion in France which the small group from *The Militant* had managed to touch off before they even left New York?

Czechoslovak Intrigue

Another hot lead in the Commissioner's opinion was the fact that I had returned from Cuba via Prague. How long had I stayed in that capital? What people did I see? My story that I had not even left the airport was utterly ridiculous in his opinion. And again, from his viewpoint, logic was with him. The student unrest in Czechoslovakia was clearly related to the student unrest in France, and since I had been in both places, I was obviously "associated" with its origin.

I was never quite sure, however, in relation to Czechoslovakia what his objective was—to try to make me out to be an agent of the Czech government sent into France to stir up trouble against de Gaulle, or an agent of the Cubans or *The Militant*, who stopped off in Prague to see what he could do, in passing, to stir up the campus against former Czechoslovak President Novotny.

By 5 p.m. the first day, I gathered from the conversation I overheard among the officials who came and went, and who talked rather freely among themselves because of my obvious incapacity

to understand French as shown by the heavy work falling upon the translator, that they had concluded I was genuinely a journalist and that our account about our purposes was true and that we would be released. The final formality was to search our hotel rooms.

In my room, half a dozen plainclothesmen completed the investigation in about three minutes. The stenographer put his typewriter on the tiny table and sat down on the one chair to take dictation from the Commissioner, while the others crowded respectfully around the sink and bidet.

As he dictated, the Commissioner showed that his reflexes were still in very good shape. He flipped back the bed cover, for instance. I don't know if he was looking for guns or bedbugs.

When he dropped down on one knee and looked under the bed, I could not resist asking him if he expected to find somebody there.

"You never know," he said. And then possibly to squelch the smirks on his assistants' faces, he added: "One time I found two Arabs under a bed."

"With the door locked from the outside?" I asked.

The translator had to explain the point to him as the others laughed. It was a small pleasure to see his face redden as he insisted: "Yes, with the door locked!"

We were taken back to the Ministry and the whole affair seemed finished. The Commissioner had even put down the time he finished the investigation, and he said that within a few minutes we would be released.

The Gods Enter

Then a rather strange thing occurred. The report was returned from whatever office it had been sent to. The stenographer had to rewrite the final page so that the last sentence was made to read that the investigation had been temporarily suspended.

I asked the Commissioner why he had lied to me. He seemed embarrassed. "Men propose but the gods dispose." He gestured, somewhat ironically, toward the heavens. Perhaps not only the Minister, but de Gaulle himself, was interested in this case.

We slept that night in a cold office on cots, under guard of a detective.

Toronto meeting held for slain black leader

By Gerald and Judy Watts

A memorial meeting for slain black leader and all-star athlete Ted Watkins was held in Toronto, June 9. Nearly 200 jammed into Marcus Garvey's old United Negro Improvement Association Hall to attend the meeting.

Sponsored by the Afro-American Progressive Association (AAPA), which Ted Watkins founded and led, the theme of the meeting was "Harambee," Swahili for "Let's get together."

Watkins, a \$15,000-\$20,000 a year professional football star for the Hamilton Ontario "Tiger Cats," was shot to death June 2 and his brother Clifford seriously wounded by a white liquor store owner in Stockton, Calif. Ted Watkins had gone to the U.S. with his wife and four children for the funeral of his mother-in-law.

The store owner, who has a previous history of shooting black customers and who notched his gun since the killing, charged that while Clifford Watkins was waiting in a car reading a magazine, someone hit him over the head with a bottle in a robbery attempt. Then, according to the owner, he was dazed, grabbed his gun and shot Ted Watkins four times, three times in the back of the head and once in the heart.

After the shooting, Clifford Watkins allegedly lunged over the counter and wrestled the store owner through a plate-glass window. At this time, Watkins' arm was almost completely severed. After Ted Watkins was shot, a store employee, who was emptying the garbage, shot Clifford Watkins. He is presently chained to a hospital bed with no charges against him. No weapons were found on either of the brothers.

In the morning the interrogation continued. It consisted of going over points already covered and rewriting part of the record that had already been dictated and signed the previous day, to make it look better from a police view. It was interesting to me to see that complaints which I had registered against our treatment and which were noted down in an expurgated way by the Commissioner were now expunged.

Both of us were photographed and finally Helena was told she could go free. As for me, some more technicalities were required which would take about an hour to complete. Although repeatedly invited to go, Helena refused to leave the building until I, too, was released.

The "technicalities" consisted of taking me to the criminal division where my fingerprints, scars, warts, moles, and other means of distinguishing one human being from another according to police standards, were recorded in quintuplicate.

It was only after all this that I was told that the decision was to deport me.

Helena and I were then taken to our hotel and left to ourselves to check out, naturally with a "tail" to watch our movements from a discreet distance. We recognized two of them.

A Neat Trick

A final item is worth mentioning for the confirmation it offers on the inner character of the cop as a human type. We were assured repeatedly that all our belongings would be returned to us, and they were, including my typewriter. Among the items were the strips of film taken for *The Militant*.

The Ministry made contact prints of these and permitted me to look at them. They turned out to contain some very good pictures of the attacks carried out by the police against the students on June 11-12. I put the film in my briefcase along with the other items that were returned just before I was taken away to be fingerprinted. When I opened my briefcase later, however, the strips were gone.

I would not want to suggest that the Commissioner or the Minister or President de Gaulle ordered them purloined. It was, nevertheless, a neat bit of pickpocketing. Whoever first said it, was certainly speaking from experience when he observed that a cop is at heart a thief who has found a soft and easy racket.

Speakers at the memorial pointed to the inconsistencies of the official account of the tragedy. It was brought out that Watkins, one of the most outspoken opponents of racial injustice in the Canadian Football League, who sacrificed a comfortable life to devote himself to the liberation of black people, had no reason whatsoever to rob a liquor store—thousands of miles from his home and on so sad an occasion.

Tom Jones of the Canadian Football League stated that if Ted had needed the money he could have borrowed several thousand dollars at a moment's notice from several of his black teammates.

The Canadian government has refused to intervene, manufacturing the excuse that although Watkins was a landed immigrant, he was an American, not a Canadian, citizen. Canadian newspapers have played up the white store owner's version of the cold-blooded killing.

But the family, the AAPA and several of Watkins' teammates are determined to clear his name. They have demanded a California grand jury investigation and the American Civil Liberties Union has volunteered legal assistance. The AAPA demands that Canada Manpower and Immigration conduct a comprehensive and thorough investigation into the slaying.

Speakers at the memorial rally included: Pat Arthurs; Mrs. Lynne Johnson; Jose Garcia, secretary of AAPA; Tom Jones; Jay Castro; Trevor Clark; author Austin Clark; and Judy Watts of the Detroit Inner City Voice.

Support of the case is urgently needed: Write and send money to Afro-American Progressive Association, 604 Huron Street, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada.



FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ISSUES STATEMENT

First lessons of French revolu

(The following are excerpts from a statement issued June 10 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.)

May 1968 will enter the history of the class struggle as the month of the biggest revolutionary upsurge yet seen in an industrially developed capitalist country. Ten million workers on strike, all the big and medium-sized plants closed down, the most backward and least politically conscious layers of the proletariat and civil service employees brought into action, the technicians and foremen widely involved, the farmers joining the students and workers in the struggle, broader and broader and more and more militant demonstrations confronting the harried and increasingly demoralized forces of repression, a "strong" government out of control of events and more and more paralyzed for two weeks—this was the picture of France in this exceptional spring.

The determination of hundreds of thousands of university and high-school students, of young workers, to bring down the capitalist regime exploded in such a glaring way that no one seriously questioned what had happened. The workers, too, demonstrated in just as resounding a way their determination to battle not only for immediate demands and against the Gaullist regime but also to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and capitalism.

This determination was expressed in the occupation of plants, railway stations, power plants, post offices, over which the red flag was raised. It was expressed in the slogans calling for "workers' power," for "power to the workers," repeated with increasing frequency in chants and on banners in the demonstrations. It was expressed by numerous spontaneous moves to take control of or to take over the means of production, by the moves of committees or collective groups of workers and citizens to assume power.

New Power

Thus, before the eyes of the entire world,

a new power was being born, the power of the future French Socialist Republic, confronting the decaying Fifth French Republic. It was completely possible during the week from May 24 to May 30 to take these facts to their logical conclusion, to cover the country with a network of organs of dual power, to federate them, to take the necessary initiative to topple the tottering Gaullist regime and to bring the revolutionary crisis to a conclusion by the working class taking power in order to build socialism.

If this did not occur, if the capitalist state was finally able to pick up the reins of power, this was due exclusively to the betrayal committed by the leaders of the workers, particularly the leaders of the French Communist Party (PCF) and the General Federation of Labor (CGT), who controlled the great majority of workers.

These leaders of the PCF and the CGT did everything possible to isolate the students and the revolutionary vanguard from the mass of workers, turning the strikes and factory occupations toward purely economic aims, blocking a test of strength in the streets where the relationship of forces was eminently favorable to the revolution, paralyzing any reaction to the repressive violence, blocking the arming of pickets and the organization of a student and worker militia, compelling acceptance of elections offered by a power at bay, and splitting and smothering the strikes, until their own irresolute attitude and the resolute May 30 speech of de Gaulle brought about the first pause in the movement.

This betrayal is a consequence of their adherence to the Kremlin's doctrine of "peaceful coexistence." The Kremlin views de Gaulle as weakening the position of American imperialism in Europe, and the Kremlin is mortally afraid of the perspective of a revolutionary upsurge in France.

The betrayal is also a consequence of the long years these leaders have spent in electioneering and in the parliamentary routine. The refrain "along the peaceful and parliamentary road to socialism" was voiced for years with the excuse that a revolutionary crisis could in no case occur

in France. When such a crisis did actually occur, the same reformist strategy was used to dissipate the possibility that was objectively present to take power.

New Forces

The PCF leadership has lost credit completely with the revolutionary students; its prestige has been broken by and large among the entire vanguard of the youth. This liberation of the youth from the bureaucratic stranglehold has enabled it to enter into action as a new revolutionary vanguard on a scale never before equalled in France.

But within the working class, the PCF and CGT apparatus, although it has been shaken many times over the years, and now again when the workers in the big plants rejected the miserable agreements worked out with the bosses and the Gaullist government to bring the strike to an end, still maintains preponderance and has many ways to stifle workers' democracy and free expression of the rank-and-file will. The scattered elements for a new leadership, which is ardently desired among the young workers, are still too weak and unorganized to be able to assure the building of the organs of dual power on a general scale.

That is why the betrayal committed by the apparatus of the PCF and CGT was able to save French capitalism once again, as in 1936 and in 1945-47.

But, in contrast to the outcome of the two preceding revolutionary upsurges in France, the Stalinist betrayal this time was not able to smash the spring 1968 upsurge outright, nor bring about a rapid reversal of the relationship of forces. The revolutionary battles of May 1968 were mounted from bastions like the revolutionary Sorbonne, forces such as those seeking the right to control the ORTF (French Radio and Television), and bodies like the Committees of Action. The resumption of work in the plants did not liquidate them. Moreover work was resumed at a much slower rate than the Gaullist regime and the PCF leadership hoped for. Considerable sections of the working class in the big plants displayed exemplary militancy and capacity for resistance.

The capitalist state could not permit

these embryonic forms of dual power to be consolidated and extended. But it did not have the strength to eliminate them with a single blow. Thus a transitional period opened in which the repressive forces are making tests, as in the effort to break the strike at the Renault plant in Flins through the use of police. These sallies could become points of departure for resumption of the revolutionary movement.

In addition, the industrial and economic weakness of French capitalism will not permit it to grant for long the considerable material advantages which it had to accord to the workers in order to assure resumption of work. Price rises, inflation and unemployment will rapidly erode these gains. This, in turn, will set off violent responses among the workers.

Internal Crisis

Finally, the internal crisis in the unions and the traditional workers' parties has only begun. This crisis will deepen in coming weeks, particularly after the elections which the PCF is utilizing as the last means to reknit its ranks. The repercussions of this crisis will likewise soon stimulate a powerful resumption of the workers' struggle.

All the elements thus exist for forecasting that the dip in temperature that began May 31 will prove to be only temporary, that new explosions and new confrontations are absolutely inevitable. Preparations must be made for these confrontations with maximum lucidity and organization. All the lessons of the struggles of May 1968 must be drawn in order to assure assimilation of the gains, so that the next wave can begin at a higher level and make it possible to surmount the insufficiencies of the first wave.

The first wave revealed the extraordinary weakness of contemporary capitalism under the apparent stability of the "consumer society," "economic expansion" and the "strong state." The development of the productive forces, the rise in the level of culture and technical education of the masses, the deep industrialization of the country, the explosion in size of the universities, the drop in average age level of the population—all these changes, which



Cop throws grenade during street battle in France last May, while car used in barricade by students and young workers burns.

tionary upsurge

the capitalist regime congratulated itself on as merits and signs of modernity, turned definitively against it.

This was so because under the capitalist system every development of the productive forces increases the economic and social contradictions. The masses felt by instinct that the immense possibilities to satisfy their fundamental needs were being wasted, cut off or shunted aside under the reign of profit-making and private property.

The youth no longer took it for granted that there should be close to 1,000,000 unemployed while a workweek of 30 hours for everybody was clearly in sight. The students, the highly skilled workers, the technicians, no longer felt obliged to accept the dictates of the bosses, management, or specialists in the pay of capital on how they had to work, what they had to produce and what they had to consume. In the same way the workers have become less and less tolerant of the lack of rank-and-file control in their organizations and of the rule of an authoritarian bureaucracy. . .

To promote and to inspire the revolutionary activity of the masses along the road of resuming the struggle of May 1968, the first task is to reinforce the revolutionary vanguard. This must be carried out on several levels, among others the broad vanguard, by force of circumstances regrouping diverse tendencies and organizations around solid unity in action based on precise common revolutionary objectives and observance of workers' democracy.

On another level, the revolutionary Marxist themselves must seek to move as rapidly as possible toward the building of a revolutionary party which already has a hearing among the masses. The United Secretariat of the Fourth International points to the admirable way in which the members of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Youth) and the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Party), the French section of the Fourth International, have met the test of May 1968. We express our conviction that they will play a capital role in carrying out this double task, without which the French socialist revolution cannot win.

World Impact

The revolutionary process in France is of supreme importance to the entire world and to the forward march of the world revolution. May 1968 released the brakes on the political situation throughout Europe, bringing the student struggles to a higher level in Italy, Spain, Great Britain, Belgium, and Sweden, stimulating the resumption of the workers' struggles in various countries, unleashing the process of the European revolution. May 1968 has already exercised a profound influence in unleashing the student struggle in Yugoslavia, and is contributing in preparing political revolutions in all the bureaucratically degenerated or deformed workers' states.

May 1968 will assure to the new vanguard now forming in these countries a high level of revolutionary Marxist consciousness. It will compel imperialism to redeploy its forces on a world scale and thus constitutes important aid to the Vietnamese revolution, the Latin-American revolution, and the entire colonial revolution.

But the primary importance of the May 1968 movement was to bring the proletariat of a highly industrialized country into the center of the world revolution for the first time in more than 20 years. This fact has already swept away a whole series of prejudices, of false conceptions, of revisions of Marxism fostered by the subsiding of the European revolution after 1948.

It has cleansed the atmosphere by raising the demand for 100 percent workers' democracy from the very beginning of the revolutionary upsurge. It has assured the present phase of the world revolution a higher political and theoretical level than in the past, a revival of the best traditions of the revolutionary, internationalist workers' movement.

On this foundation it has created conditions propitious for a rapid development of the international Trotskyist movement and the Fourth International to which the revolutionary Marxist militants are duty bound to respond at once in view of the completely new possibilities that have now been opened up. . .

How the action committees were formed in struggle

By Mary-Alice Waters

PARIS, June 12—During the weeks of the revolutionary upsurge in France, the radicalizing masses were constantly searching for ways and means to express their new-found political consciousness in action. There were two central problems they had to overcome. The first was the size and influence of the Communist Party which tried to block every revolutionary initiative taken by the masses and turn it back into "safe" channels. The second was the small size of the organized revolutionary vanguard in comparison with the powerful Communist Party machine.

The search for solutions to these problems gave rise to widespread improvisation by the masses; but the initiatives they took led to essentially the same forms of organization that have come into being in other revolutionary situations.

The organizational nucleus of the previously unorganized vanguard was the Action Committee, a form that first developed at the university and rapidly spread to other layers of the population. As tens of thousands of students, comprising the first sector to move into action, became politically involved for the first time in their lives, they felt the need for some form of coordination and cohesion. As a result they formed committees in each of their schools, and these in turn became rapidly tied together by a general assembly which met as often as necessary to plan activities and demonstrations.

As other sectors of the population moved into action, the committees spread. Their most logical extension would have been into the factories themselves where, as strike committees or under some other name, they would have created the nuclei of workers' councils, of a dual power. This logical extension of the committees was blocked by the Communist Party which, through its control of the CGT (General Federation of Labor) set up appointed strike committees to prevent just such a development from taking place. They then sent the masses of workers home. In a very small number of factories, representative, elected strike committees were formed, but such developments were few and far between.

One of the most important places where this did occur was the atomic energy complex near Paris. Because of the weak union tradition at the plant, the CGT did not have such a death grip on the thousands of workers there. These workers ranged from the most highly skilled physicists, through various levels of technicians, to unskilled workers. The strike committee that developed there became a miniature workers' council or soviet. Even the security police joined the strikers and provided pickets for the plant.

Despite the difficulties in forming action committees in the major factories, they

did, however, spill over into the various residential districts, particularly in Paris but also in other parts of the country. Often initiated by the students, an open meeting would be called to which anyone in the area who was interested was invited, and the resulting formations represented a genuine cross-section of the population.

Another form of Action Committee also emerged. There were hundreds and hundreds of young workers who came to the Sorbonne, the real nerve center of the entire revolutionary vanguard, asking for help, advice, discussion and cooperation. Most were concerned with the same problems as the vanguard students—how to get around the stifling control of the CP bureaucracy in order to create a genuine mass revolutionary movement. As a result, student-worker Action Committees were established to further joint action.

The Action Committees in the districts were the most important in mobilizing thousands of people who were searching for leadership and explanation of the momentous events surrounding them. These committees called meetings, organized demonstrations, distributed leaflets, put up posters, supported workers who were occupying shops and small industries in their district, and even organized some of the occupations themselves. For instance, the one-day occupation of the national headquarters of the French employers association was organized by Action Committees.

They functioned on the basis of minimal structure and no definite worked-out program. As agitation and action groups, they served as organizing nuclei which corresponded to the needs of the masses. In some parts of the country, such as Nantes, they did, in effect, begin to take on the functions of a revolutionary government.

All political tendencies were free to work in the Action Committees and many of them did. Thus some committees were known as generally Maoist-oriented, others as committees which usually agreed with the line of activity projected by the Trotskyists, others as anarchists, etc. The Communist Party, on the other hand, set up a network of parallel "Action Committees for a Popular Government" in order to try to compete with the Action Committees and create confusion as to their nature.

Now that the revolutionary upsurge has been brought to a halt by the joint action of the state and the Communist Party, the activity of the mobilized masses has already begun to fall off. As a result, their elementary form of organization that corresponded to the needs of the upsurge has subsided. What will happen to them next remains to be seen. But it can be said that the Action Committees played a vanguard role of central importance in the developments of May 1968.

What is 'dual power'?

In a capitalist country like the United States or France, under normal conditions of capitalist rule and exploitation, there is a central, unified state apparatus, under the domination of capitalist politicians, which defends the general interests of the capitalist class.

In revolutionary situations, however, this state power begins to be challenged. The insurgent forces, whether consciously or not at first, begin to develop the forms of a new power responsible to them. For a time both powers—the old state power defending the old order, and the embryonic forms of power of a new order—can exist side by side. This situation is called "dual power." When this occurs, there is an inevitable struggle between them over which will actually run the whole society. Either the old order eventually succeeds in liquidating the organs of the developing power of the revolutionary forces, or the new power succeeds in displacing the old.

There are many examples of such situations of dual power. In the First American Revolution, the Continental Congress, the Continental Army and local committees formed a countervailing power to that of the British. These two opposing forces struggled for control of what was then the British colonies, and which became

the United States as a result of the defeat of British power.

In Vietnam right now we see another dual-power situation. On the one side is the Saigon regime, propped up by the U.S. On the other is the National Liberation Front. The NLF has now reached the point where it is an actual government, exercising control over large sections of the country.

In France in 1871 another dual-power situation developed. The workers of Paris succeeded in taking over that city. They established a democratic and broadly representative council, called the Commune, as their organ of power. The Paris Commune was not able to extend to the whole country, however, and the capitalist state power was able to crush the Commune.

In France during the past month, the insurgent workers and students, and other layers of the population, began to form Action Committees. These committees, too, were embryonic forms of dual power, along with the unions in some areas. They began to take on some of the functions of government in some sections. Such committees will undoubtedly appear again during the next revolutionary upsurge in France.

French high school youth joined in the battle

By Mary-Alice Waters

PARIS, June 11—Any social and political upheaval comparable in scope to the one that has taken place in France in recent weeks is inevitably made up of numerous streams that, at the particular historical conjuncture, converge to create an enormous flooding river which overflows its banks in all directions. Each one of these streams is, in itself, worthy of study.

One of the most interesting of these has been the radicalization and politicalization of high-school students in France in the last six months. This process has been reflected in the formation and growth of CAL, the Comites d'Action Lyceens, or High School Action Committees.

French high schools, or lycees, are even more strictly controlled and isolated from day-to-day reality than American schools. By way of discriminatory exams and the arbitrary decisions of the teachers themselves, the high schools are closed to the great majority of students from working-class families. Those students are channeled off into technical schools at about age 14. There they receive three years of training before being thrown on a labor market that is glutted with young, inexperienced, partially skilled workers.

In the high schools (most of which are also segregated by sex) the students work from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., plus Saturday morning, at a course of study that is weighted (especially in terms of social pressure) towards the old-time "classical education." The emphasis is on Latin, Greek and other subjects that seem totally unrelated to the life of the average teenager and to the political events taking place around him or her.

But even for those who are fortunate enough to get into the high schools, only 13 percent succeed in passing the hated "baccalaureat" which gives them the right to enter an institute of higher education.

While such educational conditions have existed for decades with little change, it has been only in the past few months that a significant movement of high-school students has come into existence.

The movement began around a 24-hour strike organized in eight Paris high schools on December 13 of last year. The strike was called in support of a demonstration protesting government cuts in social security benefits. The students estimate it was about 80 percent effective in the high schools that participated.

First Committees

Through this strike the idea of High School Action Committees was born. On Jan. 11, the students organized a strike to protest being forced to go to school extra hours to make up time lost on Dec. 22.

As a result of this second strike, one student, a member of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth), was expelled from Lycee Condorcet. Some 500 students, primarily from Condorcet, held a demonstration; one week later 1,800 high-schoolers from all over Paris participated in a demonstration at Condorcet and battled the cops who were sent to prevent the students from entering the school.

From that point on, CAL began to blossom. Contact was established with some 50 schools in Paris and another 30 or more in the provinces; a bulletin of

coordination was put out; a provisional leadership was elected; and new actions organized. The most important was a strike on Feb. 26 supporting a teachers' strike on the same day, with the students projecting their own demands in addition.

For the last part of the year, CAL had planned a campaign around the examination system in the high schools. At that point the events of May 1968 took over.

The Monday following the May 3 invasion of the Sorbonne by the special police, the cops were dispatched to the high schools to prevent any big actions there. On Tuesday strikes occurred in numerous high schools. A general strike was called for Friday, May 10, the day leading up to the "night of the barricades." More than 10,000 high-school students joined in the demonstrations that day. As in all other sectors of the society, thousands who were previously nonpolitical or unorganized poured into the movement. Overnight, the more political students became mass leaders of thousands of students.

Take Over Schools

After the general strike of May 13, the students occupied the high schools all over the city on May 14, and they remained occupied throughout the struggle.

Study commissions similar to the ones set up at the universities were organized to discuss the examination system, social discrimination in the schools, political rights for high-school students, and what form of organization high-school students should have. In addition, there were just as many commissions set up to study the major national and international political problems: the general strike, Vietnam, Cuba, the workers' states, the elections, etc. When it became clear the movement had entered a period of retreat, they set up commissions to study and explain why.

Activity wasn't limited to talk. The students were occupying the high schools as an act of solidarity with the workers and university students, and they went out to help organize. Groups of high-school students went to numerous small enterprises and shops to talk with the workers and convince them to join the strike. They claim the credit for helping to spark the walkout at Monoprix, a chain comparable to Woolworth's.

As a result of the tremendous upsurge of activity and political consciousness in the last month, CAL now has groups in about 120 Paris high schools and in about 350 around the country. The size of the groups ranges from a few dozen to several hundred.

CAL has called a national conference for the weekend of June 15-16 in Paris. A draft program has circulated and every school has been asked to elect a delegate on the basis of political positions.

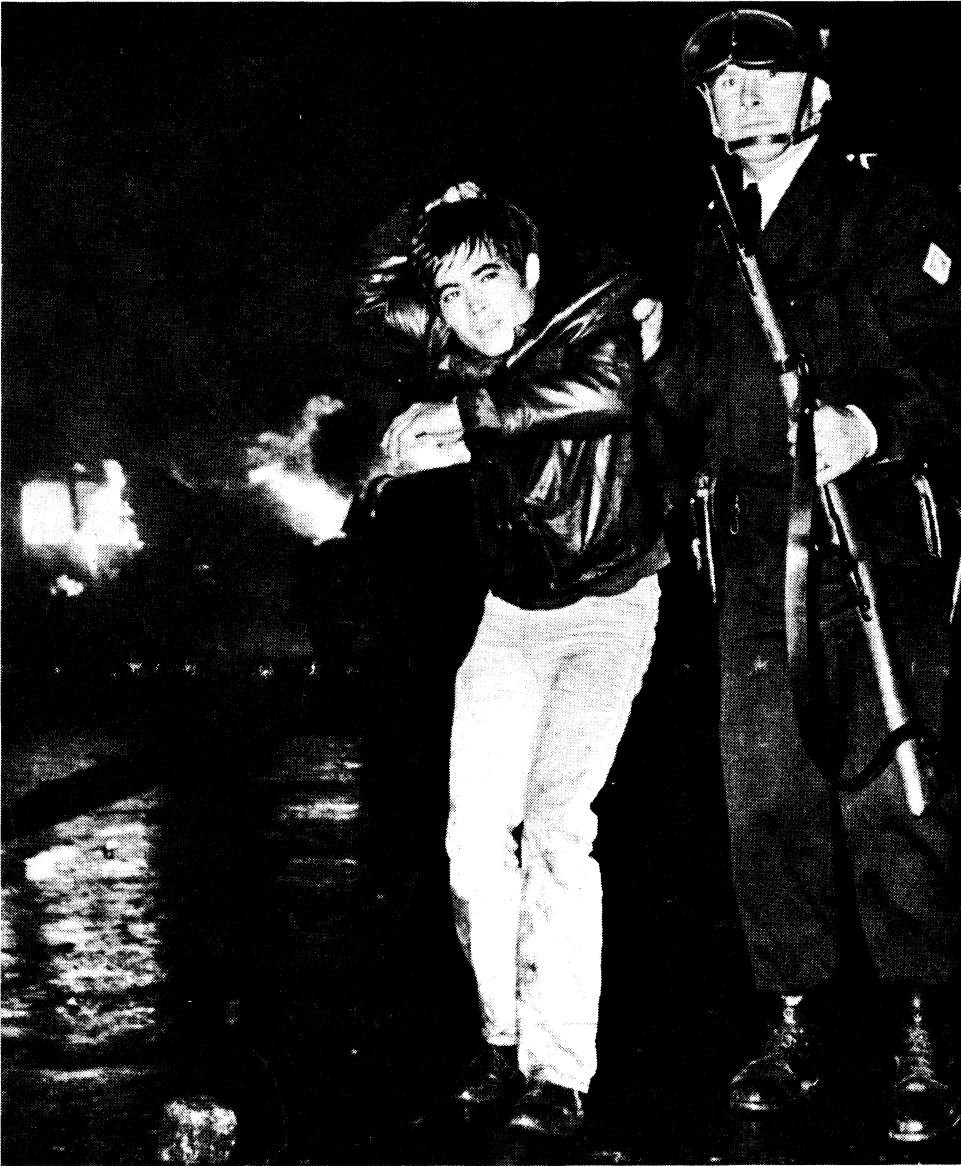
In the major position paper, CAL is defined as an organization (1) for the defense of the rights of high-school students and (2) a political action organization. It is an autonomous organization, open to all who agree with the general program regardless of other political affiliation, but CAL is affiliated with no specific political tendency.

Its program is based on opposition to class discrimination in the high schools in any form, whether in terms of exams, disciplinary measures, or the nature of the education given.

They demand the right to exist as a permanent, independent force in the high schools, the right to organize and participate in the running of the schools, and the right to organize and take action on any political issue they decide is necessary. They conclude: "In the final analysis, unity, like all theories, can only be realized in action. CAL was born in action (at Condorcet) and it is only through action that CAL will continue to grow."

While CAL's program is minimal, the logic of their demands leads them into a head-on confrontation with the capitalist state, which depends on the class discrimination built into its educational system to help divide and control the masses.

The logic of this development was clearly revealed in the extraordinary political development and combativity of France's high-school youth during the events of the past weeks.



AT LAST BARRICADE. When cops took final barricade in battle with students May 10, they found many of high school age, like this young man, among the last holdouts.

K.S. Karol on French CP

(Following are excerpts from an article, by the noted left journalist K. S. Karol, that appeared in the June 7 New Statesman, the authoritative British weekly.)

Behind the smokescreen of public polemics M. Pompidou and France's Communist leaders established a secret link at the very beginning of the strikes. Messages were exchanged every day and it is now known who the contacts were and how they operated. The Prime Minister was thus perfectly aware not only that the CP was not preparing an insurrection but was doing its best to contain the mounting pressure from the rank and file, particularly from young workers "contaminated" by the revolutionary students.

It is said that for the first time in his life he strongly opposed de Gaulle when the General flew to Germany for a meeting with army commanders and decided to wage a political offensive against both strikers and the whole Opposition. Pompidou feared that this kind of blackmail would play into the hands of those who are pushing for an open showdown with the regime and that the CP and other opposition forces would have no choice but to fight back.

Events have proved that de Gaulle sized up his opponents better than his more cautious Prime Minister. The Opposition has virtually surrendered to his blackmail, refused to risk calling his bluff and proclaimed that it is happy only to fight a general election.

The CP has shown itself even more moderate than the traditionally moderate Left, and only a few hours after de Gaulle's speech sent messages to provincial factories advocating an end to the strike. Understandably, the nine million strikers suddenly became a bigger embarrassment to the Communists than to the regime, because strikes are electorally damaging to working-class parties. . .

It is also obvious that the Communist Party in France is losing its control of the working class. For the second time in 15 days the workers in many key industries are voting against the wishes of the CGT and are continuing their strike. The extraparliamentary opposition, represented by students and young workers, is gaining not only in strength but also maturity. Despite an instinctive fear of organization, which sooner or later becomes bureaucratic, the young rebels are now aware that imagination and spontaneity are not sufficient to change a complex society like the French one. They are starting to build a new movement and

they are looking for support from those of their elders who saw in the "revolution" a hope for something new, for a better and more socialist society. . .

Finally, they realize that the tacit Communist-Gaullist common front will produce a savage bid to repress them as soon as the elections are over, and that they therefore must be able to defend themselves.

The French workers, on the other hand, even if they are going back to work, are embittered by the slender results they obtained by their long strike. They know that the wage increases will be rapidly overtaken by inflation and that their unions failed to obtain any guarantee against this. But they will not be left alone in their despair and the Communist Party's official line on the strike will not go unchallenged on the factory floor. Those who believe that the end of the strike and the forthcoming election will bring back the old order in France may soon have a rude awakening.

How French CP Campaigns

Writing from Grenoble, France, in the June 16 London Observer, Boris Kidel has this to say about the kind of election campaign the French Communist Party is waging:

In their own campaign, the Communists in Grenoble are trying their hardest to present an image of utter respectability, so much so that on the outskirts of the city they have painted a slogan on a wall saying, "Against disorder and against anarchy — vote Communist." Their candidate, Jean Girart, an attractive but totally reliable party official, did not blink an eyelid when he was asked at Grenoble University the other day whether the Communists were "afraid of revolution." His reply was to trot out the standard formula about the danger of "adventurist anarcho-syndicalists" and to proclaim that not socialism but democracy in alliance with the middle class was the goal of the French Communist Party.

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U.S. uses Paris talks to cover escalation

By Dick Roberts

JUNE 9—While the Johnson administration claims that it is seeking an end to the war through the negotiations in Paris, there is mounting proof that Washington's real intentions are just the opposite. The evidence shows that Washington is escalating the war in Vietnam while using the "peace" talks in Paris as a cover for this escalation.

New confirmation of this policy came from Pentagon sources and the U.S. Congress this week. In a June 14 dispatch from Washington, Associated Press correspondent Fred S. Hoffman analyzed Pentagon casualty figures for the first 23 weeks of 1968.

"Total U.S. Vietnam casualties, mounting relentlessly during the Paris talks, could top a quarter of a million by year's end," Hoffman declared. In 1968 "the number of U.S. dead and wounded averaged out to 2,692 a week." This is "twice the 1,372 weekly average in 1967."

According to Hoffman, "The count of Americans killed in combat has averaged 379 a week this year, dropping as low as 184 at the start and soaring as high as 562 in early May. Projecting the 379 a week average over the entire year would boost battle deaths in the Vietnam war to 35,730—more than 2,000 above the Korean War's 33,629 killed in combat."

The death toll in Vietnam already numbers 24,744, not counting those GIs who "have died from causes other than enemy action" according to the Pentagon definition. There are 3,968 deaths in the "non-combat" category, Hoffman reveals. These include 1,196 killed in "aircraft and helicopter accidents."

More Money for War

Meanwhile on June 11, the House of Representatives passed a "supplemental" military appropriations bill increasing by nearly one-third the Vietnam war budget Johnson proposed in January. This bill covers the finances for military spending in Vietnam for fiscal year 1968 ending July 1. The House increased it from \$20.6 billion to \$26.7 billion.

The short floor debate on this appropriations bill made it crystal clear that the additional funds were earmarked for escalating the war. Congressman William F. Ryan (D-N. Y.), one of the 33 representatives who voted against the appropriations, states: "Although the planned total of military personnel for Vietnam had been understood to be 525,000, it is now the intention of the administration to increase that to 549,000. . ."

Ryan exposed how the administration had deliberately underestimated its initial war budget proposal—when it would have gained major publicity—and chose the course of obtaining the funds for a major escalation in "supplemental" legislation. "The administration seems to have used almost every device at its disposal in order to avoid making a full statement of Defense funding needs for 1968," Ryan commented.

Same Trickery

There is nothing new about this policy. Johnson has followed the same course throughout the war: step-by-step escalation,



Erich Sokol in Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung

piecemeal appropriations funds and a smattering of "peace offensives" to obscure Washington's real strategy. In fact there is a close kinship between the war pause in late 1964, Johnson's presidential "peace campaign" and the major escalation of ground combat in South Vietnam and bombing in North Vietnam which followed in early 1965, and the present "negotiations" gimmick in Paris. The same policies of escalating the war under the cover of talking peace are being followed—the difference being that today the escalation is proceeding at a faster pace.

Congressman Burton (D-Calif.), another opponent of the bill, declared: "The numbers continue to rise. U.S. casualties for the period 1960 through 1964 were 255 fatalities, an average of approximately four per month. In 1965 they rose to 1,365 or about 114 per month. 1966 saw 6,008 deaths, average 417 per month. In 1967 the toll rose to 9,378 averaging 781 per month. Through May of this year U.S. fatalities totaled 8,342—an average of 1,668 American deaths per month."

"Even as we have moved to the conference table the scale of the war we wage continues to escalate, to become more brutal."

A supporter of the appropriations bill revealed: "According to the testimony of the Deputy Secretary of Defense, some \$268 million of this appropriation will be used in the few weeks remaining in this fiscal year to support, and I quote, 'the larger B-52 bombing program now projected.' The Defense Department has gone on record as stating that higher bombing sortie rates are already in effect."

Facts and figures underline, as no amount of argument can, the truth about Washington's war plans for Vietnam. Under the cover of negotiating a peace for Vietnam, the imperialists are waging a bigger war. In the 10-week period following Johnson's announcement of a negotiations offer, U.S. casualties have already risen to a scale which exceeds that of the Korean War. Legislation has now been passed which provides for "escalating the escalation."

... The situation in France

(Continued from page 2)

hoisted the red flag over them; sang "The Internationale," the anthem of the liberation of labor, and, finally, in many places unfurled the slogan of "workers' power."

A strike of such size and power is a sure sign of a revolutionary situation, regardless of the initial ideas or intentions of its participants. The stopping of work followed by occupation of the plants violates the rights of capitalist property, immediately raising the question of whom the plants belong to—the bosses or the workers? Whose interests does the economy serve? These questions immediately raise the question of political power. These acts by the workers signified that, with a sure class instinct, the workers were ready to pass beyond the capitalist order and create the foundations of a better life along socialist lines.

To be sure, the workers put forward a set of immediate economic demands and insisted that the government and bosses satisfy them. But such a self-mobilization of the entire class in defiance of the rulers and even their own official leaders was no ordinary strike under normal and stable conditions of capitalist exploitation.

Their mighty offensive proceeded from elementary job grievances to the most crucial of all political issues: who was going to be the supreme power, the ultimate decision-maker, in the land? That was the meaning of the banner calling for workers' power unfurled at the key Renault plant at Boulogne-Billancourt and other places.

That is still not the whole story. In the first days of the confrontation between the contending classes, the political relationship of forces was so against the tottering and discredited Gaullist regime that the situation became the most favorable opportunity for the conquest of power ever offered to the insurgent workers in an advanced industrial country.

The state power was suspended in midair; the police and even the army were not wholly reliable for repressive purposes; the workers had mustered their full strength and could count on strong backing from the rest of the masses. They needed only to organize and direct that power in a consciously revolutionary manner and the old order could have been eliminated with a minimum of costs and casualties.

That did not happen. Not because the country was not in a revolutionary crisis and not because the workers and their allies were unwilling to struggle through to the end, but because their established political and union leaders prevented them from doing so. One of the major weapons these cowards used to impose their policy was the argument that the situation was not revolutionary and must therefore be confined to limited reformist objectives and the parliamentary arena.

Under such pretexts the CP and CGT bureaucrats opposed the formation of rank-and-file strike committees in the factories and action committees in the neighborhoods which could organize and carry forward the mass struggle and establish a countervailing power that could challenge and displace the oppressive capitalist institutions.

The Stalinist leadership had to refuse to recognize the immense revolutionary potential of the unparalleled upsurge for two reasons. Such an attitude conformed to their continued collaboration with the capitalist power structure in accord with the Kremlin's line of "peaceful coexistence" and "the parliamentary road to socialism." And it was required to justify and cover up their counterrevolutionary conduct in a genuinely revolutionary crisis.

Instead of serving as midwives of the revolution, as Marxists should, the Stalinists acted as its aborters. And, throughout that treacherous operation, they kept denying the slightest signs of pregnancy in the victim.

The Communist Party leaders claim to be disciples of Lenin. But what a contrast between the Bolsheviks of 1905, not to speak of 1917, and these miserable wretches! Like the May events in France this year, the 1905 revolution in Russia began with a mass strike, the most powerful and ample in European history up to that time. It was spearheaded by the metal workers as the French general strike was by the auto workers. Then, as the revolutionary fever spread, the peasants joined in and the army and police began to be infected.

As everyone knows, the revolutionary movement in the Russia of 1905 was crushed. The difference between Lenin's followers in those days and Moscow's followers in the France of 1968 is that the Bolsheviks did everything in their power to organize and lead the revolutionary mass movement and make it prevail. The Stalinists did everything to restrain and ruin its chances of victory.

The article by its French correspondent in the New York Times Magazine concludes with the report of this revealing incident. "My postman friend Andre Gouin said that a CGT delegate had strongly urged him and his co-workers to go back to work even though at that moment they were waiting for a reply to their latest proposals. They had reluctantly agreed. Pay day was June 7; their wives were beginning to complain."

"But Gouin felt cheated. So many points had not even been raised. So little had been obtained, in spite of the month-long crisis. Disheartened as he was, Gouin saw one encouraging sign. 'Look at it this way,' he said. 'What happened in May was a rehearsal.'"

So 1905 was a rehearsal for October 1917 in Russia. If the May-June days in the France of 1968 have the same preliminary character, it will take far less than 12 years between this missed opportunity to conquer power and its realization by the workers. The most conscious among them have seen what the CP really is—and with a new and better leadership they are not likely to be so fooled and frustrated the next time.

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An open letter to the U.S. left

The following is an open letter to American radicals by Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle. Halstead is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for President; Boutelle the party's candidate for Vice President.

The events in France are of prime importance to radicals in the United States. A struggle beginning among revolutionary students culminated in the largest and longest general strike in history. This fact alone has world-shaking implications.

It has punctured the myth of the economic, social and political stability of the advanced capitalist nations, and it has made clear that the class struggle has been there all along. The post World War II political stability of the advanced capitalist countries has received its biggest blow. The colonial revolutionaries no longer fight alone.

Make no mistake about it, the present political and social crisis in France is a crisis of the world capitalist system. A blunt question is posed for the left in the United States: "Can it happen here?" And requires a blunt answer: "Yes!" It not only can happen here, it will happen here!

With all due regard for national differences, timing, forms and other complications, a social crisis of essentially the same kind as that now occurring in France is building up in the United States.

The French events did not occur in an international vacuum. This year, 1968, is already established as the year of unprecedented student unrest, particularly in the advanced capitalist countries, and not the least in the United States. A key factor in this development internationally has been the dirty military intervention of the U.S. capitalists in Vietnam. This itself is simply the most glaring instance of the U.S. government playing top imperialist cop in the world.

It is of more than symbolic importance that the chain of events which set off the current upheaval in France began with a demonstration by the French antiwar movement in front of the American Express Agency in Paris in March.

These student radicals were attacked not only by the brutal French special police. They were viciously slandered by the official leadership of the French Communist Party and the CP-dominated trade union (the General Federation of Labor) in a manner that brings to mind George Meany's cry against the Berkeley antiwar students: "Throw the kooks out."

In spite of this, the French students found a sympathetic response among young workers who forced the union bureaucrats into calling a solidarity strike by the French working class. Through their general strike and occupations of factories, the workers brought their own demands into the struggle—going beyond bread and butter demands to call for a fundamental change in the whole rotten order.

The events in France prove that the French workers—while enjoying a high standard of living compared to many parts of the world—are not the satisfied, insensitive dolts some "theoreticians" would have had us believe. And when

they saw their chance to express their need to break out of the exploitation, insecurity and alienation which dominate their lives under capitalism, they responded with tremendous power.

The movement has been temporarily halted not because of any lack of power on their part, or willingness to struggle. The blame for that rests on the French Communist Party leadership, without whose spineless treachery toward the workers and students, de Gaulle could never have succeeded in stemming the tide.

The same mood is building up in the U.S. working class as led to the explosion in France. The official U.S. government figure for a "modest but adequate" standard of living for a family of four is now over \$9,000. The average wage in the U.S. is nowhere near that, and even the average skilled worker has a base pay closer to \$7,000. This means in many cases that more than one member of the family must work, that excessive and debilitating overtime has become a way of life, and that real poverty exists for tens of millions. In the Detroit black community uprising last year 43 percent of those arrested were employed in industry, and most were auto workers and union members.

Accurate expression of the real situation facing the workers and their desire for change is not directly reflected within the unions at the moment only because of the hide-bound bureaucracy, expert at brutal and slippery undemocratic practices. This is another important factor in the alienation which grates on the workers' lives. Yet even this hasn't stopped all expressions of the class struggle, as testified by the mounting waves of strikes.

The black people are demonstrating their increasing readiness to fight for their complete self-determination and for jobs, better pay, better education, better housing. The spring of this year saw the most widespread series of black uprisings—some 125 of them—that has yet occurred. The revolutionary potential of the black people, who will be in the vanguard of the American revolution, is an additional positive revolutionary factor present in the U.S. that is not present in France.

What does all this mean to the American left? First, we must all recognize that the fight of the French workers and students is our fight, too. We must come to the defense of the French revolutionists who face persecution, both morally and materially.

Second, we must make full use of the precious time given to us to prepare for the great struggles ahead.

We must learn from the French experience, as from other revolutionary experiences, that not only will the workers, black people and students of this country at some point rise to challenge the capitalist rulers, but that an essential ingredient for their victory is a revolutionary leadership. Such a leadership is being forged in France today, and we have to build one right here.

Just as in France, where the Communist Party and union bureaucrats proved to be not only obstacles to the revolution, but downright guardians of the old capitalist order, we face a treacherous and cowardly gang of class-colaborationist bureaucrats in the unions, misleaders on the left like the American Communist Party which is engaged in doing everything it can to keep the developing radical movement tied to Democratic party "peace and freedom" politics, and misleaders of the black people who are doing the same with the black movement.

Students, workers and black people intent on really carrying out a revolution here have got to organize and prepare for the big battles to come. That's why the Socialist Workers Party is running in this election campaign—to fight to get the GIs home from Vietnam, for black power, for workers power and to organize the kind of movement that can lead the coming American revolution to victory. We urge you to help build this kind of revolutionary socialist movement by joining and supporting the 1968 Socialist Workers campaign.

London Observer on French Trotskyists

Unlike the U.S. capitalist press, the British papers have been giving extensive coverage to the events in France. Here is how the London Observer sized up the situation on June 16.

"Wednesday [June 12] Cabinet meeting decided on immediate repression, in the belief that the public, exasperated and frightened, was now ready to support stern measures. On the other side of the barricades, the analysis of the situation is very different. In spite of the ban on them, most of the revolutionary groups view the upheavals of the past six weeks with unconcealed satisfaction. They have succeeded beyond their wildest dreams. They have not demobilized, but gone underground.

"The principal lessons of the revolutionaries—whether Trotskyist, Maoist, or members of Cohn-Bendit's anarchist-tinged 22 March Movement—is that the strategy of direct action... has paid off a thousandfold. Western society has proved extraordinarily vulnerable to it. It is a lesson young people have learned right across the Western world.

"Do not be surprised if barricades spring up in black ghettos in the United States this summer," Mary-Alice Waters, national secretary of America's Young Socialist

Alliance, told a cheering audience in the Sorbonne. . . .

"The Trotskyists played the most vital part in sparking off the revolution and provide the most coherent analysis of it. In their view, a tiny revolutionary *avant garde* detonated a large-scale, semi-spontaneous movement of student protest. . . . The students' fighting example then fired the workers to 'strike and occupy' in turn. This was the next and vital stage. . . . The great strike of nine million workers unfurled across France.

"It is at this point that Trotskyists get really excited. They are not particularly interested in university reform or student power. It is the workers they are after, living docilely under the cane of that prim old governess, the orthodox Communist Party. . . .

Their thesis is that between 25 and 30 May . . . the workers could have seized power in France. Revolution was within their grasp. It was only frustrated because of the timidity—they would say, treachery—of the French Communist leaders. The Trotskyist objective is to challenge this leadership in every factory, and eventually to break it. The Communists thought they had buried Trotsky. Now, to their horror, he stalks again."



Paris student response to de Gaulle

Your help is needed!

Since the outbreak of the French revolutionary struggle, The Militant has extended itself far beyond its normal resources to assure comprehensive, firsthand reporting and analysis of these momentous events, including sending two reporters and two photographers to France. For weeks we have been publishing 12 pages instead of our usual eight.

Now the repressions against revolutionary movements in France make our special coverage particularly vital. De Gaulle's outlawing of the French Trotskyist movement and other revolutionaries demands the widest exposure. This is essential if there is to be an effective movement of solidarity with these persecuted revolutionaries who have played such a key role in the French events.

Gaining that publicity is made more difficult by the curtain of silence imposed by both the capitalist press and that section of the world press controlled by the pro-Moscow Communist parties.

Our coverage of the French events has included an exclusive interview with Alain Krivine, leader of the outlawed Revolutionary Communist Youth; an interview with young Renault workers; firsthand accounts of the fighting on the barricades of the Latin Quarter; eyewitness reports of the massive labor-student demonstrations.

As necessary, we will continue to publish special 12-page issues to cover the continuing French developments.

In addition, we are putting aside our regular biweekly summer schedule. The Militant will appear every week throughout the summer.

Supporters of The Militant are organizing special sales to bring the paper to wider layers of students and workers.

All of this requires a heavy financial outlay in addition to our normally strained budget. WE NEED YOUR HELP!

Help us finance the regular weekly Militant throughout the summer. Help publish 12-page issues as needed. Help the circulation drive. SEND AS GENEROUS A FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION AS YOU CAN. DO IT TODAY!

----- clip and mail -----

The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003
Yes, I want to help finance The Militant's special coverage of the French events.

Enclosed is my contribution of

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CALENDAR

DETROIT

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL—Sat., July 13: The Workers' States; Sun., July 28: The Cuban Revolution; Sat., Aug. 10: Fascism; Sat., Aug. 24: Black Nationalism. 11:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES

RALLY FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE CHICANO PRISONERS. Speakers: Sal Castro, Joe Razo, Gilberto Cruz Olmeda, Moctezuma Esparza, Oscar Acosta. Fri., June 28, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Donation. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

PAUL BOUTELLE, SWP Vice-Presidential candidate, just back from France & England: Racism & Revolution in Europe. Thurs., June 27, 8:30 p.m. 873 B'way, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1.00. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

40,000 Belgrade students hold 8-day sit-in

By George Novack

After Czechoslovakian students in October and Polish students this spring has come the turn of the Yugoslav students to present their bill of grievances to the Communist Party bureaucrats. And, in Belgrade as in Prague, their strong offensive has scored a victory in direct confrontation with the regime.

For eight days, from June 3 to 11, 40,000 young men and women in the student community of New Belgrade occupied their university buildings. This sit-in of the rising generation was the first significant spontaneous movement from below since the Yugoslav revolution was consolidated. It required the personal intervention and prestige of President Tito himself to bring the demonstration to a halt.

The unexpected explosion of student discontent was touched off by two bloody clashes with police on June 2 and 3 in which more than 130 students were injured. The severest fighting broke out when officials refused to allow a protest parade of thousands of students to enter downtown Belgrade and cops clubbed down students who charged their line at a bridge over the Sava river.

Following this encounter, angry demonstrators shouted down Communist Party officials, who tried to calm them with cries of "We want action—enough with words." Then the boldest among them proceeded to imitate student rebels elsewhere by taking over the buildings of Belgrade University

one by one and refusing to leave until their demands were met.

Student Demands

Seven demands were set forth in leaflets distributed by groups of students throughout the city: (1) Prompt provision of jobs for graduates so they would not have to go abroad to find work. Job opportunities have shrunk as a result of work force reductions in many enterprises flowing from the economic reforms. There are 70,000 unemployed college graduates in Yugoslavia today. The students also sought increases in the minimum wage and higher unemployment compensation.

(2) Suppression of economic inequalities and a program to cut down privileges. (3) The establishment of genuine democracy and genuine self-administration of the enterprises. (4) Immediate release of all arrested students. (5) Dismissal of the federal and Serbian interior ministers and the Belgrade police chief responsible for the brutality against them.

(6) Convening of the head of the Federal parliament to confer with representatives of the students. (7) Ousting of all the Belgrade newspaper and radio editors who had given lying reports of the behavior of the students.

There were other complaints regarding bad food, poor living conditions, mice in the dormitories, demands for a greater say in academic affairs, and protests about the admission of fewer and fewer young workers and peasants to the university. Although tuition is free, extra expenses make it difficult for children of poor families to secure higher education.

The central slogan of the students was "socialism, freedom, democracy." They called for "discussion of social inequities and true democracy in all walks of life," especially in the Yugoslav Communist Party. They insisted that the CP practice what it preaches and "bring daily reality into harmony with oft-proclaimed ideals."

Red University

The whole capital became the scene of intense excitement and agitation. The students renamed Belgrade University "the Red University of Karl Marx." As in Warsaw, the Philosophical Faculty was the most militant center of revolt. The students there held all-night teach-ins called "convents." Slogans on the walls read: "We have had enough of the Red bourgeoisie"; "Down with the Communist princes"; "No more corruption"; "We want work"; "Don't believe the press." Another proclaimed: "Into the future without those who have betrayed the past."



Long Island Press

"You can't blame the Communists as I did, huh?"

The Great Society

THE KIDS TAKE OVER—Yevgeny Tyazhelnikov, 40, was appointed head of the Young Communist League in the U.S.S.R. He worked his way up the ladder of the youth movement as a school teacher, college rector and provincial Party official.

DIETETIC SABLE—It's really worth every penny of the prices James Galanos gets for his clothing fashions. For example, he now has a floor-length sable coat so cleverly designed it doesn't make the wearer look fat. We assume there's a matching headpiece.

NON - SUPPORT FOR REGIME—There's been a rush on bras in Saigon since cops there began busting bra-less women on the theory they may be guerrilla agents.

KNOWS WHEN TO WITHDRAW—Bishop Fulton Sheen, who has called for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, is apparently generally quite sensitive to the public pulse. Last week he postponed a special Sunday mass commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Rochester. The bishop acted on learning that the mass would have been in competition with the final round of a national golf tourney being held at the local club.

LOGICAL THEOLOGIANS—The relationship may be somewhat obscure, but Bishop's Sheen's decision reminded us of the joke about the stranger in town who wanted to celebrate a Jewish holiday at a modern reform synagogue. Assured that the local one was one of the most modern in the country, he arrived to find a sign in front declaring: "Closed for the holiday."

SPEED YOUR LEISURE—Those who have been losing time filling a martini

pitcher with ice, chilling the glasses and letting the mix pause on the ice for just the interval necessary to assure a cold, dry relaxer, will be pleased to know that a recently developed machine premixes and bottles 2,000 martinis an hour.

SCIENCE DEPT—Apparently assuming that programming is easier than decoding labels on supermarket products, a patent has been obtained for a mini-computer suitable for determining if the giant three-sixteenths of a half-gallon size is a better buy than the king-size two-and-a-third pints and three ounces package.

ADVICE TO LOVELORN—We lost the clipping in transit, but on a recent visit to Minneapolis we read a feature piece in the Star about the growing popularity of local high school underground papers. The Star reprinted from one of these papers a polemic against the attitude of the Catholic Church toward sex. The article concluded with this bit of advice to the church prelates: "Don't knock it if you haven't tried it."

PRETTY SNAPPY—We're not quite certain of its social significance but Prince Charles of Great Britain was invested with a garter. A dark blue, satin job, it was buckled below his knee by his mother no less. We understand there is a great traditional importance involved in this ceremony. Maybe Freud could have explained it.

SYSTEM GOING TO POT—This caption refers not to an inhalant but to the following item from the Wall Street Journal: "A British firm offers a gold, nine-ounce chamber pot at \$66 an ounce; as an 'industrial product' it doesn't violate British laws against gold hoarding."

— Harry Ring

French Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) send letter of support to Yugoslav students

The following message was sent to the students in Yugoslavia on June 9.

Comrades,

We greeted the news of your struggle as a victory.

In the midst of the uniform demobilization maintained by all the ruling bureaucrats in the East European countries, it is Yugoslavia's turn to be caught up in the revolutionary flame which has begun to sweep Europe and for which the French student vanguard provided the first spark.

Twenty years ago France, like Yugoslavia, underwent a period of intense revolutionary struggles. In Yugoslavia, these struggles led to the taking of power by the partisans. But in France they culminated in the bankruptcy of the French Communist Party. The French CP went so far as to demobilize the masses and, through its leader Maurice Thorez, called for: "One state, one police force, one army"—that is de Gaulle's state, de Gaulle's police force, and de Gaulle's army. At the same time and parallel to this, Stalin sabotaged the Yugoslav socialist state. It suffered the greatest difficulties because of its isolation, and this favored the growth of bureaucracy in the state and party apparatus—this red bureaucracy which you openly denounce and fight against.

Today, after 20 years of "calm," of political and social oppression, a revolutionary vanguard is developing anew and throwing itself precipitously into the fight.

Your ideas are supported in Poland by Comrades Modzelewski and Kuron. We must all demand their freedom so that they can wage the revolutionary struggle they have expounded.

Comrades, let us join in unity for the establishment of real socialist democracy in the socialist countries, including Yugoslavia, and the overthrow of capitalism in France and in all the capitalist countries of Europe and the world.

Our battles are all part of the same struggle.

The National Committee
of the Revolutionary
Communist Youth

The Belgrade insurgents were joined by more than 200,000 students all over the federated republic. Workers, intellectuals, editors, artists, CP members and officials attended student meetings during the week and expressed their solidarity. All elements of the population favoring greater democratization in the party and country were with the rebels.

The students organized their spontaneous protest skillfully, forming action committees as in France and insisting that the Communist Party authorities negotiate directly with them.

The entrances to the university buildings were heavily guarded, mainly by women students, and carefully controlled. Only faculty and authorized visitors were permitted to enter. Police and newspapermen who had denounced the demonstrators as anarchists, provocateurs and hoodlums were kept out.

Government Undecided

The panicky government and party leaders were nonplussed as to how to cope with the unprecedented situation. On the third day of the sit-ins, June 5, the Serbian government offered concessions which the students rejected as inadequate. At one meeting over 2,000 students voted unanimously, with one abstention, to continue the sit-ins.

"We didn't take this [offer] seriously," said a philosophy student, "because it came too quickly and we have heard similar promises in the past. They just want to stop us from expanding our action and getting in touch with the workers."

On June 10, as the political crisis built up toward a showdown, Marshal Tito stepped in to settle the conflict. Tito remains a hero to the students and his picture was kept hanging in the buildings.

In a 20-minute speech on television and radio, Tito promised satisfaction of many of the reforms requested by the rebels. He blamed himself and the other CP leaders for not taking care of the grievances sooner. "If I am not capable of settling these questions," the 76-year-old president declared, "then I should no longer be in this position."

Although he was noncommittal about the officials condemned by the students, he did agree to call to account anyone who had abused his functions, "no matter who he is." Tito's endorsement of their grievances ended the sit-ins and now the students await the implementation of their demands.

In the same speech Tito denounced anti-socialist elements who sought to make capital out of the unrest. He specifically mentioned "Djilasites and Rankovicites" (Rankovic is the deposed head of the secret police), as well as other hostile

elements ranging from the "most reactionary to the most extremist pseudo-radicals who echo Mao Tse-tung's theories."

Djilas Critical

However, the London Observer correspondent Lajos Lederer reported from Belgrade June 8 that when Djilas rushed to the scene of the first demonstration and tried to speak, he was brushed aside and booed. While Djilas voiced approval of the protest movement as a blow to bureaucratic conformism, he criticized the student admiration for the revolutionary "dogmas" of Che Guevara and Rudi Dutschke.

Witch-hunt set of Louisville black community

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Opponents of the Kentucky Un-American Activities Committee (KUAC) said they will resist any attempt by the committee to inject itself into the recent uprisings in this city, according to the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Those who filed a lawsuit to stop KUAC last March said they will continue to fight the committee by every legal means, including further court action, if it tries to move into the Louisville situation.

This was announced soon after Gov. Louis B. Nunn named 10 members of the General Assembly to serve on KUAC, and suggested that they investigate uprisings in the black community here.

From the Governor's statements at a news conference June 13, it is clear that the immediate targets of the committee's activities will be black militants and their white supporters.

The March suit to stop KUAC was dismissed by U.S. District Judge Bernard Moynahan at Lexington on May 27. He said: "I just don't see how we can have a case where the law has not gone into effect."

This was 17 days before the 1968 Assembly resolution setting up KUAC went into effect.

Plaintiffs in the suit said they will appeal Moynahan's ruling to the U.S. Court of Appeals in Cincinnati on June 18, and then to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary.

KUAC will hold its first formal session in Frankfort June 21. It met informally on June 13 after being sworn by State Court of Appeals Judge Morris C. Montgomery. He told the members: "Best wishes to all of you, because I'm kinda on your side."

U.S. protests condemn French repressions

By George Novack

June 21— United front demonstrations are being held June 22 at French consulates and information centers in major cities from New York to Vancouver, B. C., in defense of the revolutionary victims of Gaullist repression. The protests will call for immediate lifting of the ban on all proscribed political organizations; release of all political prisoners; the right of all foreign journalists to report the truth about the events in France; and an end to the attacks upon the civil liberties of the French people.

These actions are part of a worldwide movement of solidarity with the embattled French revolutionists.

With the tacit complicity of the French Communist Party, de Gaulle's government is fiercely pursuing its campaign of repression against the leaders of the left. It has outlawed 11 student and working-class organizations and arrested their leaders. The police drove the students from their strongholds in the Odeon and the Sorbonne June 15 and 16.

The government has ousted scores of foreign students who took part in the anti-Gaullist struggle as well as correspondents of the foreign press, including Joseph Hansen, editor of Intercontinental Press, and Helena Hermes, Militant staff photographer (see page 5). Hundreds of strikers have been beaten and two auto workers were killed by police at the Peugeot plant in Souchaux.

Report 17 Arrests

The June 17 Paris Herald-Tribune reports that 17 revolutionary French leaders, "mostly Trotskyite," are being held incommunicado by secret police. Among them are Pierre Frank, secretary of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI—Internationalist Communist Party), French section of the Fourth International, Gerard Verbizier, editor of Avant-Garde Jeunesse, the newspaper of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth), and Michel Spagnol, a JCR leader.

While striking these blows at the rebel youth and insurgent workers, the Gaullist regime is pardoning the fanatical fascists and military conspirators who tried to maintain French domination of Algeria in 1961. On June 15 the government released 50 convicted assassins of the Secret Army Organization (OAS), including Raoul Salan, their commander.

De Gaulle's amnesty of the ultrarightists is part of the bargain he made in a secret

overnight visit to his generals in West Germany at the height of the crisis. In return for the backing of the army hierarchy, the President had to free their convicted fascist associates.

The Gaullists are plotting with the militarists and fascists during an improvised election campaign in which public demonstrations have been forbidden! This is supposed to provide a genuine expression of the will of the nation. Actually, it provides a pseudoparliamentary cover to prepare further assaults upon workers and students once the elections are over.

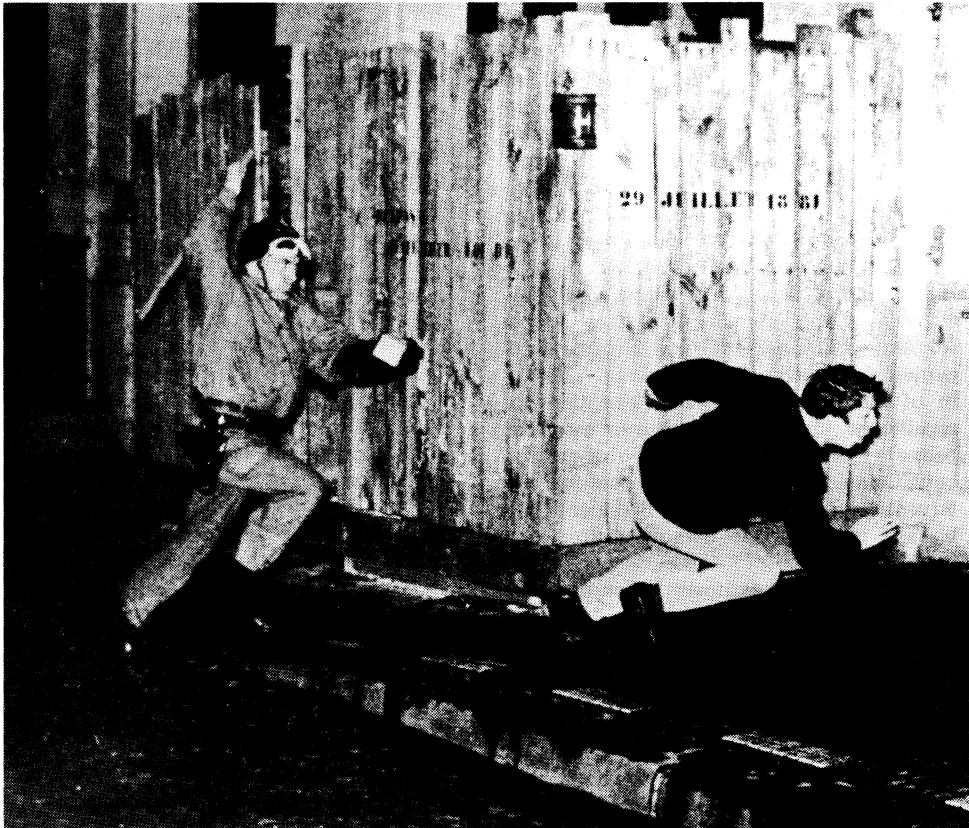
Many organizations in France have denounced the government violations of civil and constitutional liberties. However, the French Communist Party has steadily refused to utter a bleat of protest against them. The Stalinist leaders are grateful to de Gaulle for gagging their left opponents and preventing the coalition of revolutionary groups, which have worked together over the past two months, from presenting candidates with a class struggle program against the Gaullists and the class-collaborationist Stalinists and the "moderate left" in the current elections.

Will Be Used Against Them

The CP's connivance with Premier Pompidou (see article by K.S. Karol, p. 8) and its silence about the repressions is as shortsighted as it is treacherous. The Gaullists are trying to stir up a witch-hunt hysteria in the country by making the fight against the threat of "communist totalitarianism" the central issue in the election. The dissolutions and arrests set precedents which can later be applied against the CP forces as well. This is the same blind, factional policy that was followed by the heads of the American CP when the Smith Act was first used against the Socialist Workers Party in the early 1940s—a course, which they later came to regret.

After a five-week walkout, most of the ten million strikers have gone back to work. However, some of the auto workers, who have been in the forefront of the strike movement, are hanging tough.

After the 60,000 men in the state-owned Renault plants voted to return on June 17, more than 10,000 at the Flins plant, 25 miles west of Paris, walked out again two days later. They accused the management of failing to abide by the agreement, discriminating against certain militants and instituting a speedup. The reactions of these militants indicated how unsettled many of the settlements are and how unstable the general situation remains.



One of de Gaulle's cops in action

Poor People's Campaign — some political lessons

By Elizabeth Barnes

In terms of the numbers of people who came to Washington June 19, the march in support of the Poor People's Campaign was a success. Despite the short time in which the demonstration was organized, 50,000 people turned out to demand that the government put an end to poverty, hunger, and oppression of black people.

But the very nature of the protest, with its emphasis on respectability, predetermined that it would be one of the least militant and least enthusiastic mass demonstrations to be seen in this country for a long time.

Hundreds of young people hung around the edge of the crowd when they tired of listening to speakers such as United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP.

The signs, slogans and speeches reflected the general lack of clear goals and demands which has characterized the Poor People's Campaign from the beginning.

In many ways, the June 19 demonstration reflected the strengths and weaknesses of the Poor People's Campaign as a whole. On the one hand there were the thousands of people who responded to the call. Despite the picniclike atmosphere encouraged by the demonstration organizers, there were many militant and serious-minded people there.

This was reflected in the friendly reception given to supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign when they distributed literature. People were anxious to talk about such questions as black power, self-defense, and the need for a revolution in this country.

But this interest in the struggle was not reflected in the response of the crowd to the demonstration. The lack of concern with the proceedings could be seen most clearly when all but 6,000 people left the speaking area before SCLC leader Rev. Ralph Abernathy gave the main address.

A major portion of Abernathy's speech consisted of detailing the concrete concessions wrung out of the government thus far. Although the list was long, it was a far cry from the goals outlined for the campaign when it began.

This points to what is probably the one important accomplishment of the Poor People's Campaign thus far, that is, its exposure of the callousness and the inaction of the Democratic and Republican politicians who run this country.

However, the Campaign has accomplished nothing in the way of showing how to organize the black movement so as to overcome this situation. As a matter of fact, on this level, the Campaign has done the opposite: it has provided a bad example.

This major weakness of the Campaign derives from the nature of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which is directing it. SCLC has attempted to adapt to the growing militancy in the black com-

munity, but at the same time it has always sought to contain this militancy, to keep it within the bounds of actions which will not seriously threaten the Republican and Democratic parties, or which could "get out of hand."

Dr. Martin Luther King, who headed SCLC, was attempting at the end of his life to come to grips with the new black militancy, but he saw the Poor People's Campaign as most basically a "safety valve" for the growing anger and radicalism in the black community, and as an "alternative" to the ghetto uprisings.

The SCLC organizers have gone to extremes in avoiding any mass militant actions that might put the government on the spot. They have sown the illusion that, if they just stay in Washington long enough, the government will see the light and do something to help poor people.

This fear of bringing large numbers of people into action against the government has resulted in making the poor people in Washington look weak. Instead of seeking to mobilize and organize the militancy seen in the massive ghetto rebellions, the Poor People's Campaign leaders only use the threat of uprisings as a "frightening" alternative to their "nonviolent" methods.

Most important, they give no attention whatsoever to the all important question of how to build a permanent mass organization of black people to fight for the power to win complete freedom and a better life.

Instead, they look to the Republicans and Democrats for any long-run solution. The Rev. Ralph Abernathy has announced that "it may become necessary this year for us to support a candidate if we can find one that will come forth with a program to deal with poverty."

This means that once again black people would be left with the alternative of voting for whichever Republican or Democratic presidential candidate comes up with the most promises.

This weakness of the Campaign was pointed out very clearly by John Hulett, leader of the Lowndes County (Alabama) Freedom Party, when he talked with a Militant reporter about his personal views on the Poor People's Campaign.

He said he wished the Campaign the best of luck, and sympathized with what it was doing. But he pointed out that the Campaign would not be successful so long as it relies on simply begging the government for handouts. What is needed, he said, was to build an alternative political structure.

Hulett was referring to the need for a nationwide black political party, such as the Freedom Party he has helped build in Lowndes. Such a party could organize the masses of black people against the Democratic and Republican politicians, who are responsible for the oppression of black people, and fight for black power by any means necessary, including the ballot and mass demonstrations.

Two Blacks convicted in N.Y. frame-up trial

NEW YORK, June 15— Herman Ferguson and Arthur Harris were found guilty today of conspiring to murder Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins. The decision was handed down by an all-white jury in a near hysterical atmosphere in which the white prosecuting attorney all but blamed the two members of the "Queens 17" for the assassination of Robert Kennedy.

The two were convicted on the testimony of a police agent named Edward Lee Howlette. In the course of testimony Howlette revealed, for example, that he had delivered a street-corner speech on "The Disenchantment of Negro Servicemen" which had been written by his

"superior" in the police department.

Three years ago Howlette infiltrated and began to participate in the Brotherhood Improvement Association, an organization headed by Ferguson. The conviction of Harris and Ferguson rested completely on his testimony.

On the day after Kennedy was shot, Howlette and prosecuting attorney Thomas De Makos brought Robert Kennedy's name into the trial. Makos asked the police agent if he could "remember" a list of "targets of terrorism—people who should be assassinated." Makos "recalled" that Robert Kennedy was one of them.

Ferguson's attorney immediately asked for a mistrial on the grounds that it would be impossible to judge the case impartially on account of the emotional climate in the country. The mistrial was denied.

And in his final "summation" of the state case, lawyer Makos declared, "It's hatred that breeds violence—a vicious circle of hatred and violence. And don't you think that Ferguson didn't know it. He taught hatred."

The defendants are out on bond of \$20,000 each pending an appeal and the settlement of the remainder of the "Queens 17" case. They face maximum penalties of seven years imprisonment. Support is all the more urgently needed to reverse this racist conviction on the appellate level: Send funds to The 17 African-Americans Accused, c/o The Allied Federal Savings and Loan Association, 115-02 Merrick Blvd., Jamaica, New York.

Antiwar demonstration in New York Aug. 3

NEW YORK, June 21— The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee will hold a mass demonstration Saturday, Aug. 3, to demand an end to the Vietnam war. The action will also commemorate the 23rd anniversary of the Aug. 6, 1945, U.S. atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

Norma Becker, coordinator of the Parade Committee, said withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam will be a central demand of the demonstration. The only thing the U.S. has a right to negotiate in Paris, she said, is its own withdrawal.